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Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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ARTICLE COMPARES COMMUNIST, WESTERN POLICIES IN AFRICA

Paris LE MOIS EN AFRIQUE in French Dec 80-Jan 81 pp 43-52

[Article by Claude and Pierre Wauthier]

[Text] Soldiers, missionaries, merchants: This triumvirate "or trilogy," in this or a different order, presided over the colonial conquest. The military expeditions often followed the charter companies, but they also preceded them, and the respective implantation of Protestantism or Catholicism -- the first in the French and Portuguese former colonies, the second in British possessions [as published] -also correspond in many cases to the dominant religion of the old home country. In Senegal, the West Indies Company established under Louis XIV foreshadowed the military expeditions of Faidherbe in the Second Empire; and in formerly German Southwest Africa, the businessman Luederitz (who left his name to a large port) followed the Lutheran missions of Rhenanie in the time of Bismarck; but the takeoff of British expansion in Nigeria was assured by a brilliant businessman, John Goldie, before Lord Lugard took possession of the Muslim emirates of the north in the reign of Victoria. Arab traffickers and Portuguese Jesuits vied in the 17th century for preeminence in the court of Monomotapa, while in the 19th century French and British missionaries competed in eloquence at the court of the Kabaka of Buganda who, not without irony, interrogated them in contradictory fashion about the immaculate conception. Also dabbling in this ballet of soldiers, priests, and merchants were the brilliant personalities of the great explorers, but some of them also wore the soutane like Livingstone, or the uniform, like Brazza, when they were not at the same time journalists and businessmen such as Stanley on behalf of the Belgian king.

Today, 20 years after decolonization, the race of great explorers has long been extinct, for lack of lands to discover, and the two great powers of the communist world, the USSR and China, have made their entry onto the African scene which up to this point the Western world had almost monopolized through the intermediation of old Europe.

But the triumvirate has not changed: Soviet and Cuban soldiers have intervened in Angola and Ethiopia; COMECON has attracted Angola, Ethiopia, and Mozambique to its bosom; and the propagandists of Marxism-Leninism are employing their zeal in the cells of the single party in Guinea, Congo, Benin, etc. Thus, following the colonial principle, commerce, the flag, and the faith take turns in assuring the exploitation of the mineral wealth and agricultural resources of the "coveted continent," as it is called by Zairian historian Elika M'Bokolo.

With gold and diamonds in South Africa, chrome in Rhodesia, the copper in Zaire and Zambia, the uranium of South Africa, Gabon, and Niger, the oil of Nigeria and Gabon, and the bauxite of Guinea--Sub-Saharan Africa is a sizable provider of minerals. Thanks to coffee, cocoa, groundnuts, palm oil, and sugar cane, it is also a major source of food products.

But the foreign trade of the entire African Continent--including North Africa--remains less than that of one country like West Germany or France. ("Annuale de l'Afrique et du Moyen-Orient," 1979, Editions Jeune Afrique, p 29.)

The European socialist bloc's share in this trade is still quite small: in 1977, those countries only absorbed 3.3 percent of the exports of the Third World, against 72 percent for the Western OECD member countries, and from 1970 to 1977 while the share of the Third World grew from 20 to 29 percent of the West's imports, they declined from 8.9 to 7.7 percent of those of the countries of the East (Pierre Biarnes, "L'Afrique aux Africains," Editions Armand Collin, p 55).

In 1978, Sub-Saharan Africa's share of the trade between the USSR and the underdeveloped countries reached 10 percent. This figure represents a considerable improvement, which reflects the growth of Soviet influence since 1952, when it was only 1.5 percent. ("The Soviet Presence in Sub-Saharan Africa," in COURRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST, Documentation Francaiso, No 235, December 1979.)

It was by going ahead with spectacular projects which the West refused to finance that Moscow and Beijing particularly sought to establish their trademark in Africa. For the USSR, it was the Aswan Dam, on the Upper Nile, one of the largest hydroelectric works in the world, by terms of an accord between Khrushchev and Nasir signed in 1958, which earned the then United Arab Republic a Soviet loan of 400 million rubles. Two years earlier, Washington had suddenly withdrawn its offer of financing and the "rais" [Egyptian president] had responded by nationalizing the Suez Canal. For China, starting in 1973, it was the construction of the Tanzania-Zambia Railways (TAZARA), an 1,800-km rail link between the port of Dar-Es-Salaam in Tanzania and the Zambian "copper belt," intended to transport Zambia's copper to the sea without passing through Rhodesia and the then Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique.

The Chinese loan accepted by Tanzania and Zambia for construction of the longest railroad built in many years in Africa amounted to \$360 million. Beijing announced on that occasion a policy of assistance to the Third World which its leaders proclaimed was estraordinarily disinterested: not only did the accord provide a grace period of 10 years before repayment would begin, on a 30-year schedule, but even better, the loan was absolutely interest-free.

Faced with such bitter competition, the West did not remain inactive. The United States created the Agency for International Development, which provides loans at low interest rates, and the former colonial powers practiced "gift economics" as advocated by Francois Perroux, especially in the form of budget-balancing subsidies. Europe as such expressed its interest in the old "Eur-African" project, denounced as a neocolonialist enterprise by Moscow: first the Yaounde Conventions involving the EEC and most of the former French, Belgian, and Italian colonies, followed, after Great Britain's entry into the Common Market, by the Lome Convention, which

integrates the former British possessions in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific (the so-called ACP countries) into the system. The Yaounde provisions gave preferential trade tariffs and the benefits of European loans, and the Lome provisions added a stabilization fund (Stabex) for Africa's principal export products. Various Western countries—including France—recently simply cancelled the debts contracted by several African countries (which obviously, it should be added, could never repay them).

In this competition for generosity, however much or little tainted with ulterior motives, the socialist countries remain far outdistanced by the Western countries. In 1978, the West transferred approximately 1 percent of its total GNP to developing countries, or about \$57 billion-of which \$18.3 billion was public aid. In 1976 net capital transfers from the USSR and the other countries of Eastern Europe to Third World countries came altogether to \$395 million, according to OECD statistics (Biarnes, op. cit. p 54 and 55).

As for China, its aid to Africa gradually surpassed that of the Soviet Union. For the period 1954-1966, aid from Moscow to Africa (including North Africa) amounted to \$1.9 billion, compared to \$428 million for Beijing. For the period 1970-1976, in contrast, total Chinese aid is estimated at \$1.815 billion, compared to \$1.019 billion for the USSR (JEUNE AFRIQUE, 6-9-1978). The principal beneficiaries of Soviet aid during the first period considered were Egypt, followed by Algeria and Guinea. For the second period, Algeria is in the lead, while Egypt and Guinea fall behind, Egypt however remaining a substantial recipient. Chinese aid for the second period went principally to Tanzania and Zambia (particularly for TAZARA), and also to Zaire.

The aid allotted by Moscow and Beijing corresponds rather well with the political options of the countries considered. The decrease in Soviet aid to Egypt foreshadows the expulsion of the Russian advisers by President al Sadat, the increase of aid to Algeria is in accordance with the preservation of the foreign and domestic policy directions of President Boumedienne's regime, while the near disappearance of aid to Guinea illustrates by contrast the clear rapprochement with the West of the government of Sekou Toure (President Giscard d'Estaing's visit to Guinea in 1978, the visit of the Guinean chief of state to the United States in 1980), even if socialism remains the watchword in Conakry's internal policy.

The relatively sizable amount of Chinese aid to Zambia, Tanzania, and Zaire is not unrelated to the Sino-American rapprochement launched by President Nixon. In fact, a fair number of pro-Western and pro-American African countries are enjoying Beijing's amity. This is the case for Tanzania, despite its socialist economy which labels itself specifically "African," without reference to Marx; for Zambia, where the copper mines are still in fact managed by South Africa's Anglo-American [company] of the American AMAX; and for Zaire, supported at arm's length by the West. But the rule is far from general: countries such as Ivory Coast, which have unequivocally opted for the capitalist road, are receiving no Chinese aid at all (or Soviet either). It is the same with Kenya, resolutely pro-Western, but only since the ousting of its Marxist vice president, Odinga. On the other hand, Nigeria, which is also pro-Western and capitalist (despite a partial nationalization of oil extraction), has accepted Soviet assistance, but not Chinese: this is because in Lagos it has not been forgotten that Beijing supported the Biafran rebellion, while

Moscow seized the opportunity to supply arms to the federal government in Lagos. The USSR today is thus lending its support to the establishment of a vast Nigerian iron and steel complex. Conversely, pro-Western Cameroon benefits from relatively sizable Chinese a.d. but not Soviet assistance.

The conclusions to be drawn from an analysis of the foreign trade of African countries with the European socialist countries and with China have still more nuances and are more uncertain, and in some instances the trade flow is in direct formal contradiction to the political and diplomatic options of the countries under consideration.

A striking example among the most recent is that of Morocco, which in 1980 concluded an extremely big commercial agreement with the USSR for the sale of its phosphates, while Moscow is giving its unreserved support to the POLISARIO Front (supported by Algeria) which is challenging Rabat's sovereignty over the former Spanish Sahara. It certainly seems that in this instance purely economic considerations may have dictated the decision. In contrast, if resolutely socialist Mozambique—which is close to the USSR—maintains close economic relations with South Africa (to which it sells power from the Carbora Bassa dam), it is because the South African Army is powerful enough to insist as well as because of the absence of any other client of equal size for its electricity. It is a geopolitical sequel to Portuguese colonization, and one which Zimbabwe's independence may undercut.

In regard to these kinds of paradoxes, an analysis of the statistics also furnishes unequivocal illustrations pointing in the opposite direction: those of countries where the political regime--installed with the help of Soviet and Cuban military support--largely determines foreign trade. Thus Angola in 1978 rose to fifth place among countries in Sub-Saharan Africa in foreign trade with the USSR, with which it had no economic relations before independence. Similarly, the volume of trade between Ethiopia and the Soviet Union quintupled following the reversal of alliances in the Horn of Africa, whereas that of Somalia fell at the same time to zero.

But sometimes the vicissitudes of politics entail no change in the direction of foreign trade: it is notable that Ghana--despite a series of coups de'etat--has remained the USSR's primary trading partner since the USSR began, under Nkrumah, to buy cacao from it. Nigeria only became an important partner--second biggest--after the Biafran war (which in no way impedes it from having the United States as the main customer for its oil). And the Ivory Coast, for no apparent diplomatic or political reason, has regularly increased the volume of its trade with the USSR so that by 1978 it was in fourth place.

Whatever the reason, it appears clear that the period 1973-1973 was a "time of plenty" for relations between the USSR and Sub-Saharan Africa characterized by "extensive" growth of trade, that is, by the adding of new partners—in particular the former Portuguese possessions—as is underlined by the study already cited which appeared in COURRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST. Significantly, it is in exports (where machinery and equipment have taken an overwhelming lead at 86.3 percent in 1978) that the extensive character of this growth has been manifested. According to the same study, it is the demand of the African countries that has stimulated the growth of commercial relations. In this connection, it is interesting to note that

Soviet imports of African food products (by far the biggest category at 79.4 percent in 1978) are slightly below those in 1968 (when they represented 85.5 percent), whereas the percentage of African mineral products exported to the USSR increased during the same years from 0.5 percent up to 9.9 percent.

While noting the extensive growth of the Soviet Union's external trade with Sub-Saharan Africa, the COURRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST underlines Moscow's increasing distaste for aid on the big scale which had been customary for it on the continent (while China has gone the other way). Nevertheless, an analysis of this aid, which is not necessarily handed out to the countries closest politically, seems to effect above all the concern to contest Chinese influence (as seems proven by Moscow's granting of significant aid to Tanzania in 1977). To COURRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST, the USSR seems to have adopted on economic terrain "the same weapons as the adversary it has in view: trade when it is trying to compete with the West, aid when it is China."

It is probably rash to try to push the line of reasoning too far, especially since the statistics available are sometimes questionable and even purposefully incomplete as regards arms sales or strategic raw materials. Also, the influence of a great power is not measured only by the volume of its financial assistance and commercial trade. It is clear for example that Beijing made, in the eyes of the majority of African countries, a gross blunder by supporting, during the Angolan civil war, Jonas Savimbi's UNITA, while the latter was receiving military aid from Pretoria.

In the rivalry being played out between the USSR and China in Africa, the training of soldiers and students constitute factors that are just as decisive.

The USSR, as we know, has made a considerable effort, creating in Moscow a specialized institute for African students, the Patrice Lumumba Institute. China has also welcomed numerous black students. Still it must be said that both in the Soviet Union and China these students are on occasion victims of a certain zenophobia, as witness diverse incidents in one or another county which seem to justify the words of Houphouet-Boigny: "Send students to a communist country and they will come back pro-Western, and the corollary is just as true, that they will be Marxists on their return from Europe or the United States."

It is in the field of military training, however, that the USSR is far ahead of China: between 1955 and 1976, the USSR trained 39,950 soldiers and officers, compared to 2,900 for China. There again, the statistics furnished by "African Contemporary Record" (annual survey and documents, 1977-78) are now obsolete. They include among the countries which have most made use of the facilities offered by the USSR in this area the Egyptians and the Sundanese. Well, the honeymoon has been over between Moscow and Khartoum since the communist coup attempt against General Numayri in 1971, well before the rupture between Moscow and Cairo.

The USSR, the socialist countries of Europe, and Cuba also outclass China in the number of economic experts in Africa, according to statistics of "African Contemporary Record" (annual survey and documents 1977-78) for 1976.

Libya gets the lion's share--more than Algeria and Angola--of Soviet-Cuban assistance, whereas Zambia and Tanzania figure among the prime recipients of Chinese

assistance. One also notes that the number of Soviet and Chinese economic experts in Somalia and Mali is almost equal. But these statistics—even though among the most recent published in the West—do not take into account the departure of the Russians from Somalia.

Mozambique, where Moscow's influence is important, is not shown. Still, a certain loss of affection on the part of Luanda and Maputo toward Moscow seems to have been manifested for some time, particularly as a result of the excessive share Soviet fishing vessels have been appropriating of the fish in the coastal waters of those two countries. Also, Angola has retained the accord negotiated between Lisbon and the American Gulf [corporation] for exploitation of oil in the Cabinda enclave, and South Africa's Anglo-American continues to hold a significant portion of the shares in the primary diamond extracting financial group.

Thus, in the Balkanized Africa which came out of decolonization, the exception, perhaps more than elsewhere, remains the rule. The calculations of the most experienced diplomats, like those of the most clever businessman and the most capable generals, are at the mercy of the most unexpected internal vicissitudes and reversals of alliance. The results of the triumvirate are difficult to foresee in the race for influence in which the great powers are contending.

(Editor's Note: Claude Wauthier is editor in chief of AFP and the author of several works on Africa. Pierre Wauthier, a licenciate in law, HEC [School for Advanced Studies], Paris, is presently at Berkelely University.)

Table 1

- Sub-Saharan Africa's Share in USSR-PVD [Developing Country] Trade (as a percentage) LE COURRIER DES PAYS DE L'WAT, No 235, December 1979.
- 2. Total trade
- 3. Exports
- 4. Imports

	2 Total des échanges	3 Exportations	4 Importations
1958	1,5	0,3	2,5
1963	8,5	9,2	7,7
1968	8,2	8,0	8,5
1973	6,0	7,2	5,0
1978	10,0	9,8	10,2

Table 2

THE U.S.S.R. CHINA AND AFRICA
Soviet and Chinese Aid to Africa (million US dollars)

	195	14-66	1970-76		
	China	U.S.S.R.	China	U.S.S.I	
Algeria	52	236	40	479	
Anmila	-	_	-	10	
Benin	-	_	44	_	
Burundi	-	-	20	_	
Cameroon	-		71	-	
CAE	•	_	_	2	
Chad	-	_	50	2	
Congo	25	10	-	4	
Egypt	85	1,001	28	299	
Equatorial Guinea	-	_	-	1	
Ethiopia	-	102	85	3	
Gambia	-	_	17	_	
Ghana	42	93	-	-	
Guinea	56	106	11	2	
Guinea Bissau	_	-	17	14	
Kenya	18	48	-	_	
Madagascar	_	_	66	_	
Mali	55	59	4	_	
Mauritius	900	-	35	-	
Mauritania	-	-	59	1	
Morocco	-	44	32	44	
Mozambique	-	-	59	3	
Niger	-	-	51	3 2 7	
Nigeria	_	-	_	7	
Rwanda	_	-	22	1	
Scnegal	_	7	49	2	
Sierra Leone	-	28	30	-	
Somalia	22	66	111	87	
Sudan	-	22	82	_	
Tanzania	54	20	305	100	
Togo	_	_	45	_	
Tunisia	_	34	40	55	
Uganda	15	16	_	_	
Upper Volta	_	-	52	1	
Zaire	_	-	100	_	
7.ambia	-	-	290	-	
TOTALS	428	1,900	1,815	1,019	

Source : Jeune Afrique, 6 September 1978.

Table 3

1. Geographic Distribution of USSR-Sub-Saharan Africa Trade (as a percentage)

	1958	1963	1968	1973	1978
Ghana	22,8	46,2	25,6	20,8	20,4
Nigéria	2,9		28,7	22,0	16,4
Ethiopie	14,5	1,5	3,6	2,1	12,2
Côte-d'Ivoire		-	0,6	5,6	11.7
Angola	-	-	_	- 24	10,2
Guinée	000	19,9	14.7	24,1	8,5
Cameroun	56,2	-	5,5	2,3	3.8
Mozambique		-	-	-	3.2
Libéria	-	-	-	-	2,2 1,7
Tanzanie	3,8	0,9	1,7	1,7	1,7
Sierra-Léone	-	-	0,8	1,5	1,4
Togo	1111	0,3	0,7	0,8	1.3
Guinée Equatoriale	-	-	-	1,7	1,2
Mali	-	18,4	9,7	1,7	1,1
Congo	-	18,4	1,3	2.1	1,1
Benin	-	-	0,4	1,9	0,9
Ouganda	- man	_	1,6	1,8	0,6
Guinée-Bissau	-		-	-	0,6
Madagascar	-	-	-	0,2	0,5
Kenya	-	-	0,8	0,1	0,4
Zambie	-	- - - - 0,5 0,5	580	-	0,3
Ruanda	-	-	-	= .	0.2
Sénégal	-	0,5	0,5 3,2	2,7 6,9	0,1
Somalie	-	8,5	3,2	6,9	_
Tchad	-	_	0,2	_	-
B.C.A.	-	-	0,4	_	_
TOTAL.	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source - Vicembala toronylla S.A.R. 1964, 1963, 1968, 1973, 1978, Minarou

Table 4

MILITARY PERSONNEL FROM AFRICA TRAINED IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES (1), 1955-76

	Total	USSR	Eastern Europe	China
TOTAL	47,225	39,950	4,375	2,900
Africa	20,325	16,450	0	2,525
Algeria	2.250	2,025	0	25
Benin	25	25	75	0
Burundi	75	75	0	0
Cameroon	75	0	0	75
Chad	75	75	200	0
Congo	825	325	1,350	425
Egypt	6.250	5,675	575	0
Equatorial Guinea	200	200	0	0
Ghana	175	175	0	0
Guinea	1,250	850	50	350
Guinea-Dissau	100	100	0	0
Libya	1,125	1,100	25	0
Mati	250	200	Negl	50
Morocco	150	75	Negl 75	0
Mozambique	375	300	25 25	50
Nigeria	525	500	25	0
Sierra Leone	150	0	0	150
Somalia	2,500	2,400	75	25
Sudan	525	300	25	200
Tanzania	2,350	1,325	Negl	1,025
Togo	50	0	0	50
Uganda	900	700	200	0
Zaire	75	0	0	75
Zambia	50	25	0	25

⁽i) Rounded to the nearest 25 persons Data refer to the number of persons departing for or in training but not necessarily completing training.

Table 5

COMMUNIST ECONOMIC TECHNICIANS IN AFRICA. 1976 (1)

	Total	USSR and Eastern Europe	China	Cuba
TOTAL	70.145	45,345	20.415	4.385
Africa	49.340	27,320	17.915	4,105
Algeria	6,835	6,625	200	10
Angola	3.525	525	0	3,000
Ethiopia	250	150	100	0
Ghana	175	50	125	0
Guinea	950	550	400	0
Kenya	30	25	5	0
Libya	10.000	10,000	0	0
Mali	650	300	350	0
Mauritania	250	50	200	0
Nigeria	300	200	100	000000000000000000000000000000000000000
Somalia	3,500	1,500	2,000	0
Sudan	850	50	800	
Tanzania	1,350	150	1,000	200
Tunisia	475	400	75	0
Uganda	175	75	100	0
Zambia	5.925	225	5,700	0
Other	14,100	6,445	6,760	895

(1) Rounded to the nearest five Data are minimum estimates of the number of persons present for one month or more.

9516

BRIEFS

APTIDON TO VISIT KENYA--The president of Djibouti, El Hadj Hassan Gouled Aptidon, will make an official visit to Kenya on 21 March. [Text] [Djibouti LA NATION DJIBOUTI in French 26 Feb 81 p 12]

DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER PRAISES AIR FORCE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 18 Jan 81 p 10

[Text] Lt Col Giel da Conceicao (Gato), commander of the FAPA/DAA and vice minister of defense, declared yesterday during a press conference marking the fifth anniversary of the inauguration of this branch of the armed forces that "several Mirage, Bucaneer and Impala MK-2 fighter-bombers, as well as AII-3 helicopters, of the South African racists have been shot down during the 5 years the FAPA/DAA [People's Air Force of Angola/Antiaircraft Division] has been in existence."

One of the basic conditions for successful modern combat is the high morale of the troops, that is, their full commitment to the defense of our revolution, -- people, party and government.

Speaking particularly of his branch of the armed forces, Conceicao noted: "During these 5 years of developing the FAPA/DAA, we have tried to create an air force capable of meeting the demands of modern warfare, as well as the direct attacks by the South African racists in their persistent attempt to prevent the normal development of the People's Republic of Angola into a country of peace and social progress, based on scientific socialism."

Regarding the activity of that branch of the armed forces, the vice minister of defense declared: "As one of the branches of the FAPLA [Armed Forces for the Popular Liberation of Angola], the FAPA/DAA plays a very important role in the defense of the nation's sovereignty and the revolution. Among the duties assigned to the FAPLA is the responsibility to defend our air space and the security of our troops, transportation, reconnaissance, observation and air support."

Lieutenant Colonel Gato also noted that an urgent concern of the FAPA/DAA is to create an officer corps capable of meeting the demands and needs of the two kinds of warfare imposed by imperialism: the struggle against the puppet gangs and the now classic war against the South African racists.

Responding to a newsman's question on cadre training in the FAPA/DAA, he said: "One of the major problems facing newly independent countries like the People's Republic of Angola is precisely the fact that they do not have political and technical cadres capable of responding immediately to the needs for the development they seek to achieve."

With respect to our country, he added that "to solve this problem, we have tried to train cadres as quickly as possible to insure that the respective structures can function at least minimally." Hence, this is a major concern of the FAPA/DAA command and the Army General Staff.

"Aviation and antiaircraft artillery require extensive academic training for complete mastery of the equipment. It is in this context," he said, "that as a greater guarantee, we have turned to the secondary schools and colleges to educate, mobilize and train some intermediate and even high-level cadres in aviation." The central ceremony of the festivities commemorating the fifth anniversary of the FAPA/DAA will take place on 21 January in Lubango, Huila Province.

6362

APPEALS COURT RULES ON SABOTEURS' DEATH SENTENCES

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA în Portuguese 18 Jan 81 p 10

[Excerpts] In accordance with the law, the Court of Appeals met in Lobito to review the death sentences imposed by the People's Revolutionary Court for three of the defendants recently tried in that city, charged with membership in a bombing ring of the puppet group UNITA.

Judgment

The judges of the Court of Appeals met in conference in the city of Lobito to review the sentences appealed in accordance with line a), Article 31, of Law 8/78, of 26 May. The sentences were handed out by the People's Revolutionary Court in a verdict reached in the city of Lobito on 8 December 1980 against defendants Clarindo Sachiambo, Madureira Ferreiro and Luis Antonio, who, with the other defendants, were sentenced to death by firing squad. The Court of Appeals rule as follows:

- 1. In the case of defendant Luis Antonio, the prosecution held that said defendant received and sheltered in his home members of the counterrevolutionary group known as 'UNITA', namely, defendant Madureira Ferreira and other contact agents sent by the traitor Fernando Soy, in charge of the so-called "Poente" detachment; that the defendant also supplied some consumer goods, such as salt, medicines and dried fish; and that these actions constituted a criminal act against the security of the state and the basic interests of the Angolan revolution.
- 2. On analysis of the matters of fact regarding the criminal complicity of defendant Luis Antonio, it is not proven that said defendant, in receiving defendant Marureiro Ferreira, was aware that be belonged to a clandestine sabotage group or that he even knew of the existence of that sinister gang of assassins who spread terror and grief in Benguela Province.

According to his own statements, the defendant testified that he had met Madureiro Ferreira in 1974, in the city of Lobito, when Ferreira bought fish from him, and that they later became good friends. The defendant knew only that Ferreira was a member of a counterrevolutionary group thereafter known as 'UNITA', and that the group, assisted by the South African racist invasion, occupied Benguela Province.

- 3. It is also known that when an active member of the counterrevolutionary group known as 'UNITA' urged defendant Luis Antonio to come live in a zone where he would be guaranteed protection by the traitors, the defendant rejected that enticement.
- 4. In accordance with the preceding findings, viewed in terms of No 2, Article 22, of the Penal Code, the criminal action of defendant Luis Antonio should be considered as having facilitated the perpetration of crimes against the security of the state, but not as sufficient cause for his execution.
- 5. Hence, the charge, grounds and legal verdict reached with respect to the criminal participation for which defendant Luis Antonio was condemned are hereby revised.
- 6. Therefore, altering the sentence handed down by the People's Revolutionary Court, under the terms of Article 103 and No 1, Article 104, of the Penal Code, the Court of Appeals hereby sentences defendant Luis Antonio to 16 years of confinement.
- 7. Regarding defendants Clarindo Sachiambo and Madureira Ferreira, their criminal bombing activity, transportation, placement and detonation of explosive devices, to which they confessed, was irrefutably proved by the lives lost forever and the massive material damage that resulted:

Considering that the People's Revolutionary Court duly imposed sentences corresponding to the crimes committed, under the terms of No 1, Law 7/78, of 26 May;

Accordingly, the Court of Appeals upholds the sentence of death by firing squad for defendants Clarindo Sachiambo and Madureira Ferreira.

Court of Appeals, Lobito, 10 January 1981, "Year of Discipline and Order."

Signed by Judges Jaime Madaleno da Costa Carneiro, Rodeth Teresa Maquina Gil and Rui Antonio da Cruz.

6362

FOREIGN NEWSMEN SURVEY DAMAGE FROM SOUTH AFRICAN ATTACKS

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 31 Jan 81 p 5

[Text] Lubango, 30 Jan--South African forces attacked a church and thatched huts in a village during an assault on an Angolan military base 40 kilometers from the Namibian border, witnesses and Angolan authorities told foreign newsmen who visited the scene last weekend. Fourteen civilians were killed during the attack.

Angolan sources said the attacks, by ground troops supported by war planes, lasted 3 days. The attacks began 15 January, exactly 1 day after the close of the Ceneva Conference at which South Africa categorically refused to sign a cease-fire with the SWAPO, the Namibian nationalist movement.

Four journalists, including a reporter from the FRANCE PRESSE Agency, were taken to the scene of the attack--Cuamato, Cunene province--overland from Lubango, 200 kilometers north of the Namibian border.

The reporters were told that Angolan aircraft shot down thrue French-made South African aircraft on 17 January.

It was confirmed that the military camp belonged to the Angolan army and not to the SWAPO, contradicting the statement by South Africa that it was pursuing Namibian guerrillas. All the victims' documents and papers were in Portuguese.

SWAPO Defense Secretary Peter Manyemba declared that the guerrillas had no bases in Angola, but merely "transit access" and camps for 30,000 refugees from the Namibian war.

Major Kibeto, an Angolan official who accompanied the newsmen, said South Africa was trying everything it could to create instability in Angola through its attacks.

The newsmen saw at first hand the charred ruins of the village huts that were bombarded by South Africans. Angolan sources added that, besides the 14 dead civilians, 14 Angolan soldiers died during the attack on the military base.

Father Emmanuel Belchior Valipo said his mission was also bombarded; he said it was attacked by South African helicopters on 17 January, wounding a minor girl. The clergyman said the South Africans had attacked his mission because they thought wounded fighters were treated there. Father Valipo added that the local population is roving the woods hungrily because they are so frightened by the South African attacks. Many of them have left the village, Father Valipo said.

8834

PETRANGOL ACHIEVES RECORD PRODUCTION

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 8 Jan 81 p 2

[Excerpts] PETRANGOL [Petroleum Company of Angola], in which the People's Republic of Angola is the majority shareholder, yesterday offered convincing proof of its strategic importance to the nation's economy; it announced that in the year 1981, just ended, it achieved the highest production figure since it went into operation.

In a ceremony at the Luanda Refinery Social Center, technically referred to as Alto Mulemba, groups associated with the petroleum industry reported that enterprise had refined a record 1,223,701 metric tons of petroleum.

Prospect For This Year

"In 1981 we expect to exceed 1,000,300 [sic] metric tons of refined petroleum," declared Pierre Masson, of French nationality and PETRANGOL's general director. He attributed PETRANGOL's growth in recent years to "the extraordinary will, spirit of sacrifice, efficiency and dedication of all our workers, not only in the production area but in maintenance and all other activities involved in refining."

In his address Pierre Masson also referred to the training of Angolan national cadres in the petroleum field. He reported that 50 of the 175 apprentices who were trained at the refinery now have positions in the company. Of the 15 Algerian technicians, 10 have been placed in various posts.

Again with respect to cadre training, PETRANGOL's general director noted the excellent relations between his company and the National Petroleum School at Ngunza, from which he expects to receive personnel for further training at production sites.

Referring to the expected pace of development of the oil industry, the petroleum minister [Jorge Morais (Monty)] declared that by 1985 we could be short 3,000 Angolan workers, a situation which will mean continuing recourse to foreign cooperation. He said that even so, contrary to what might be supposed, we have an obligation to work harder to train Angolan cadres.

Regarding the program up to 1985, the minister said the planned expansion of the Luanda refinery will make it possible to refine petroleum from other countries on our continent, specifically in southern Africa.

Although this will mean greater responsibilities for the People's Republic of Angola, and particularly for the oil workers, it does not mean our country is better than the others. It does mean a concrete step towards interdependence, strengthened by regional and continental cooperation in Africa.

Development of Refining of Crude Oil PETRANGOL Luanda Refinery

Year	Metric Tons
1973	743,847
1974	1,110,791
1975	706,603
1976	707,381
1977	942,042
1978	1,005,823
1979	1,127,676
1980	1,223,701

6362

BENEFITS WITHDRAWN FROM PERSONS RENOUNCING CITIZENSHIP

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 18 Jan 81 p 2

[Text] A Council of Ministers Decree inserted in the DIARO DA REPUBLICA takes measures to insure that the right of natural citizens of the People's Republic of Angola to renounce Angolan citizenship, or to opt for another citizenship, will not be used for opportunistic ends.

As is known, the law of nationality defines which persons shall be considered Angolan citizens and provides for the possibility of renouncing that citizenship.

Although the law recognizes the right of any citizen to opt for the citizenship he prefers, protection of the interests of the Angolan people dictates adoption of certain measures to insure that such a serious choice is not made with opportunistic intent.

Therefore, according to the present decree, natural citizens of Angola who have renounced or come to renounce Angolan citizenship may not: enter into service contracts with a government agency, state or mixed company or company under state control; enter into service contracts with any private enterprise or organization under terms differing from those applicable to Angolan citizens; register or enroll in Angolan educational establishments; transfer foreign exchange under terms differing from those established for Angolan citizens; export material goods other than objects for strictly personal use, even when permanently departing the country.

Also according to the decree, regarding existing situations on the date the decree enters into effect, or at the time of the renunciation, the following rules will apply. Contracts will be terminated by the contracting party according to the terms of the contract; transfer of foreign exchange, except those resulting from the contract in force, will be cancelled; registration or enrollment in Angolan teaching establishments will be voided.

For purposes of implementation of said decree, which is already in force, the Ministry of Justice should report all individuals who renounce Angolan citizenship, or opt for another citizenship, to the ministries of Labor, Social Security, Education, Foreign Relations and State Security, and also to the Bank of Angola.

6362

PRODUCTION OF RADIO, TV SETS INCREASING

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 18 'an 81 p 1

[Text] In 1981 Alianca Industrial, the state company that assembles electronic appliances, should produce 16,500 television sets and 74,000 radios, 6,000 of which will be radio-phonographs.

Offering this information to ANGOP [Angolan News Agency] Teresa Daves, general director of the company, noted the efforts undertaken recently to insure the extraordinary growth in production planned for this year.

According to the General Director, in 1980 Alianca Industrial produced only 6.580 television sets, nonetheless exceeding by 380 units the initial production goal of 6,200 television sets. In the same period, the company also produced 1.44 million [as published] radios and phonographs.

In the last period, the lack of domestically manufactured secondary materials, owing to frequent breakdowns in the 'CIPAL' molding machines, created bottlenecks and forced the plant to shut down for 5 months. The problem has now been solved, since Alianca has brought in a foreign engineer specializing in this area.

Referring to the marketing of appliances assembled by Alianca Industrial, Teresa Daves noted that 90 percent of its production goes to the Ministry of Domestic Trade, and the rest is held for exclusive and direct sale to the company's workers who are entitled to one article--radio, phonograph or television set--per year.

It should also be noted that thanks to the cooperation of Portuguese technicians and one Japanese technician, Alianca Industrial workers are receiving professional training and advancement courses. The company director also told ANGOP about the promotion of employee incentives, namely a social fund of 100 kwanzas for cultural and recreational activities and prizes for outstanding workers.

6362

BRIEFS

UNITA-5. AFRICAN COLIABORATION CHARGED -- Luanda, 6 Feb--Bill Anderson, former South African army officer, declared Thursday in Luanda that the armed forces of racist South Africa are collaborating closely with UNITA, an Angolan puppet faction, in their constant aggression against Angola. In an interview granted the Angolan press, Anderson, now a member of the Resistance Committee Against Warfare Conducted by South Africa, which is headquartered in London, said specifically that UNITA is used by the South African army to establish itself in areas it occupies as a result of its criminal attacks on the People's Republic of Angola. "Without the support of South Africa and the CIA, the UNITA and Savimbi would not exist," he said. Anderson, 25, deserted the South African army in 1977. While in the South African army he was part of a unit operating in northern Namibia whose assignment was to interrogate, using fascist methods, elements of the population about the movements of the SWAPO. In his statements to the press, Anderson revealed that the atrocities committed by the apartheid regime were the main cause of his deserting the South African armed forces. [Excerpts] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 7 Feb 81 p 5] 8834

COUNTERFEIT CURRENCY -- Luanda, 5 Feb -- All 100-kwanza notes of the Dr Antonio Agostinho Neto issue of Angolan national currency are losing their value as legal tender and must not any longer be accepted as of yesterday, the governor of the National Bank of Angola, Victor de Carvalho, declared Wednesday in Luanda. He added that this measure is being taken because counterfeit notes are being circulated in the country, mainly in the provinces of Huambo and Bie. Victor de Carvalho, who made this statement during the official announcement by Angolan Finance Minister Ismael Martins about the problem, said the bank will collect all the notes referred to above beginning 7 March, for a period of 30 days. They will be replaced by new 100-kwanza notes that the bank will put into circulation. The governor of the bank then explained several of the most notable characteristics that differentiate the counterfeit notes from the real ones. The counterfeit notes, he said, have little strength due to their poor quality and the RPA [People's Republic of Angola] insignia is lighter than the original. The Angolan finance minister, in his announcement, said the intention of counterfeiting the national currency is to diminish its value in order to increase the "impression of the rate of inflation we now have." [Excerpt] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 6 Feb 81 p 10] 8834

BANKING COOPERATION WITH ITALY--Luanda, 20 Jan--A delegation from the National Bank of Angola (BNA), led by Antonio Castilho, Director of the Department of Organization and Information, returned on Monday night to Luanda from Rome where he signed a protocol of intentions with banking officials of that country. According to Antonio Castilho this protocol aims at introducing mechanization into the BNA by way of computers. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 21 Jan 81 p 6] 12,116

ROMANIAN-ASSISTED AVIATION SCHOOL--Lisbon: Angola announced the establishment of a Romanian-staffed military flying school, which it said would help the country overcome difficulties in protecting its airspace. The Angolan News Agency said the intermediate-level flying school opened recently at Negage, in the north-western Uige province. This region is farthest from the border with SWA. The new flying school would help the Angolan armed forces overcome difficulties encountered in defending the country's air space, the agency said in a telexed despatch. It did not specify what the difficulties were. The Angolan Air Force is equipped with Soviet-built Mig 19 aircraft, according to Angolan embassy sources in Lisbon. [Text] [Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 19 Feb 81 p 2]

DPRK PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE--Kim II Sung, secretary general of the Central Committee of the DPRK Labor Party, has sent a message of congratulations to Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the MPLA-Labor Party and the People's Republic of Angola, on the confirmation of his election to the highest offices of the party and nation during the proceedings of the First Extraordinary Congress. In his message, the leader of the Korean people stressed that the confirmation constituted a deep expression of trust by all the members of the MPLA-Labor Party and the Angolan people. "The Korean people are convinced that the working people of Angola, led by the MPLA-Labor Party and the comrade president, will achieve further advances in the struggle to defend the nation's sovereignty and to build socialism." The message then states that the Korean leader's conviction that the existing relations of friendship and cooperation between the two parties, peoples and countries will be consolidated and developed in the future. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 17 Jan 81 p 1] 6362

UIJE COLLECTIVIZATION--In Uije Province, where the cooperative movement is being developed as a method of imbuing the peasants with a collectivist concept of agricultural production, 785 peasant associations have already been formed, with 190,000 members. By their membership and participation, the rural workers of this province have also made it possible to organize 60 cooperatives, with 14,000 cooperative members. These cooperatives, in conjunction with other associations, provide a simple and collective organizational framework for the resolution of the basic problems of the peasants in the Uije region. The cooperative movement and the peasants' enthusiastic response to it will result in social and economic advantages which cooperative production offers in building a new rural life, opening incomparably better prospects for the future of rural Uije. [Excerpts] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 18 Jan 81 p 10] 6362

PROGRAM TO SPUR PRODUCTIVITY LAGS

London WEST AFRICA in English 9 Feb 81 pp 272-273

[Article by P. Modiano]

[Text]

DURING September and October 1980 via regional 'political commissars' toured Benin investigating the progress of efforts to mere my production in both agriculture and industry. Their is port spotlighted the numerous districtivings in the recincimic system. Since then the President himself. visited several parastictal companies and for the rest of 1980 was publicly denouncing the corruption and mefficiency of public servants in particular. This is not the first time that senior government members have spoken out in public against such features of Benin's economic life, but the publication of recent balance of payments estimates indicates that unless the warnings are heeded. Benin's already perilous financial situation could become critical

The problems which the commissars listed in their report to the Government were familiar, falling agricultural produc-tion, idle factories and particular financial problems for the regional administrations. Local tax collection was frequently in arrears, and the party representatives were often, apparently, exploiting the public whom they were mu. ni to be educating, helping and exhibiting

Following this requirt President Kerekou visued several state enterprises including the cement company (SNC-SCB), the building materials company (SBMC), the agricultural credit and marketing organisations and companies such as the Société

Beninoise de Palmier à Huile.

The cement industry in Benin provides a good example of under-utilisation and misuse of resources. There are two factories in Benin to pulverne clinker into cement. The first is the Société des Ciments de Benin (SCB) which was founded in 1970 by a French company. It now retains 20 per cent while 80 per cent is state owned. It has an annual capacity of 240,000 tons, but in 1979 only 148,000 tons were produced an improvement on the previous year. The other factory, of the Société Nationale de Ciment (SONACI), is 100 per cent owned by Government It was completed in 1978 and in the first full year, 1979, produced 107,000 tons, just over half of its 200,000 ion capacity

Towards the end of 1979 the Government had to announce special measures to counter shortages of cement,

Benin's production of principal cash crops (tons) Source BCEAO

1					
•	1974175	1475/76	1477/78	1478/79	1974:80
Cocoa	1,747	1.065	1.373	4,111	6.059
Cotton	30,948	20.070	13,889	18,740	25.335
Palm Kernels	46,355	49.785	11,818	23,430	29.037
Groundnuts	4,823	6.996	2,716	1.341	1.124
Karité	384	12.372	8,274	248	17,583
Coffee	372	91	397	140	42

(The figure for cocoa production is significant. It was unfortunate that price of cocoa was so low throughout the season).

hisarding and high prices. Distribution was restricted to the quasi-public enterprises, the Societe Reninone des Materiaux de Construction and the Société Provinciale de Commercialisation des Produits Manufactures. At that time the official, retail price was CFA fr 16.70 a kilo, but the actual price was frequently as high as CFA fr 25 Not surprisingly the President found little improvement in October 1980.

The story was similar with the agricultural enterprises that the President visited. In fact a news conference was called by Kerekou at which the wrongdoings of the public sector were openly admitted. Subsequently further commissions of enquiry were called to look into the affairs of some of the enterprises, particularly the Societé Beninoise de Palmier à Huile (NOHELPAI M) and the Cause Nationale de Ciedii Agricole SOBEPALM, il was said, has fuiled to keep contracts with both employees and customers during 1980.

The provincional results of the 1979 80 harvest do in fact show a significant improvement in production of many cash crops But in many cases tonnage is still below levels reached in the mid-seventies

In part, then, the self-criticism of the government hides the fact that at least in one sector there has been a modest improvement after the pitiful performances

Relations with the bureaucracy were poor when Kerekou first came to power in 1972 However, it seemed that they had improved when, towards the end of 1979, the Head of State held an open meeting with 3 400 civil servants prior to the election of the new National Assembly. An amnesty was declared thorthy after the meeting for thme civil sers ants involved in disturbances in 1975. It had been thought that the new Government announced in February 1980. and containing several new faces, would be less hostile towards the hureaucracy. It now appears that the mutual recriminations for Benin's economic stagnation will continue.

Despite the political storm it is difficult to see how the inefficiency and corruption might be improved There have been on reports of anyone being disciplined for malpractice, yet it is hardly likely that the names of the wrongdoers are unknown. At the subsequent session of the Central Committee of the party, it was agreed that a party congress be called in order to its to tines party members' commitment and

motivate them to work harder.

One of the central obstacles to improving productivity in the state sector is the fact that many individual employees run private businesses simultaneously, and the official job suffers. Such extra-mural activity, though banned, is widespread. Yet the problem for the Government is that it is the private commercial entrepreneurship which seems to be the most efficient sector of the economy and any suppression of these activities could easily upset some of the powerful regional interests

Though the particular incidents are new, and the extent of the revolutions a little reater, most of the complaints about Benin's public sector are very familiar But the publication of balance of payments projection for 1980 gives another

dimension to the problem:

This was part of a projection for all six countries of the Banque Centrale des Frats de L'Afrique de l'Ouest done for a meeting of finance ministers in Paris in September, 1980 (The official balance of payments figures e.g. 1976 and 1977 below do not correlate with official trade figures from the customs department in which exports are recorded as being much lower. This is became the trade figures probably exclude many unrecorded exports, mostly to

Nigeria.)
Of interest in the estimates and projections from 1978 to 1980 is the sharp

Benin	8	halance	01	pa) m	REMIN
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	(CFA Fr bn)				
	ACTUAL		ESTIMATE		PROJ
	1976	1977	1978	1979	1480
Exports	24.5	36.0	37.0	40.3	47 0
Imports	-42.2	- 57.4	-66.7	-74.6	- 89 0
Services	= 5.3	- 9.6	- 7.6	- 4.8	- 29
Transfers	+114	÷ 20.5	+ 18.8	+17.7	+21.8
Current balance	-216	-105	-18.5	-21 4	-23 1
Capital transactions	4 8.14	+ 7.1	+17.0	+15.9	+ 20 4
Errors & Omissions	4 8.0	+ 6.8	-		_
Global halance	+ 3.54	+ 3.4	- 1.5	- 5.5	- 2.7

mercase in capital inflows required to cover the deficit on current member.

Benin's outstanding external public debt has so far been fairly modest, but in recent scale has tended to mercuse fast:

Renn's external debt (end year CFA fr. billion)

240 281 369 463

Fortunately in 1978 Benin's debt servicing represented only about 2 per cent of estimated export resenues. Though Benin's international reserves stood at only 57.7m at the end of August, they have not been over \$20m for years now. However, clearly Benin is highly vulnerable to any adverse circumstances and if it is forced to borrow to finance the current account deficit the debt borden could quickly become unsupportable.

Besides improving agricultural production, there are other encouraging signs for Benin, such as oil production from the small Same field doe to commence in 1982 and the prospect of increased aid flows as a result of inquived relations with France (see West Africa May 26, 1980). These may provide an extra cushion, but will not by themselves wilve the more fundamental problems in the main productive sectors.

So the Government is attempting to break the impasse with rhetoric and exhibitation. Unfortunately in doing so, it may well be abenating the public employees on which it relies, being an economy so heavily dominated by the state sector.

PEREIRA: COUP DESTROYED BASES FOR UNITY

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 22 Jan 81 p 8

[Excerpt] The principle of unity between the republics of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau, which was a fundamental part of the PAIGC program, is not included in the formula of the proclamation of the PAICV [African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde] divulged yesterday in the City of Praia.

The PAICV proclamation read at a public meeting by Aristides Pereira, secretary general of the new party, announced only that the PAICV "will be faithful to the principle of unity, conceived as a means for the progress of the peoples."

The State of Cape Verde, according to the text, "will continue to participate actively in the regional and continental organizations which aim at the materialization of the ideals of African unity and it will act specifically in the direction of consolidating the privileged relations already existing among the African countries emerging from the struggle against colonialism."

Guinea-Bissau is referred to in two clauses, the second one declaring that the PAICV, "basing itself on the close ties generated in history between the peoples of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau, expresses the desire of its militants to see fraternal relations of cooperation in all domains developed between the two republics, in agreement with the defined principles of foreign policy and the true interests of the two peoples."

In another passage the text of the PAJCV proclamation emphasizes that "the establishment and the development of relations of cooperation with all states" will be done "on the basis of international law and of the principles of national independence, of non-interference in internal affairs and reciprocity of advantages." Aristides Pereira declared in the preamble of the proclamation that "the authors of the coup d'etat in Bissau, with their anti-party action--with the methods and arguments used--have destroyed the bases on which the choice and process of unity were based: ideological identity, mutual confidence and equality of responsibilities."

The PAICV defines itself as a liberation movement in power which, in the framework of a national revolutionary democracy, binds together the national forces in the sense of consolidating political independence and the economic and social development of Cape Verde.

Proclaiming its "fidelity to the thinking of Amilcar Cabral in the historical path of the PAIGC, as an imperative in the struggle of the people of Cape Verde," the PAIGC "assumes the ideological content of the PAIGC program and continues to be devoted to its realization."

Expressing "the desire of maintaining privileged relations with all parties and organizations supporting the struggle for national liberation," the PAICV "will continue to follow a consistent policy of nonalignment, it will support the struggle of the oppressed peoples, the fight for new international economic order, peaceful coexistence, cooperation among all peoples, peace and general and complete disarmament."

Placing itself on the international level "among the progressive forces, domestically the new PAICV will establish the general basis of its political, economic, social, defense and security program, it will define stages and the paths for achieving the chosen objectives and it will orient and control the exercise of power of the state (....) [as published] and guarantee the democratic nature of the regime."

PAICV, Luis Cabral and the Dialogue

Pedro Pires, Prime Minister of Cape Verde, declared on Tuesday in the City of Praia that "the freeing of ex-President Luis Cabral would facilitate the normalization of relations with Guinea-Bissau." He added that "the future and the freeing of Luis Cabral and the other leaders who are prisoners in Bissau worries all the party members and that it is on this basis that the Statutory Congress of the PAICV has recommended that efforts be made to obtain their freedom."

The Prime Minister of Cape Verde declared that the Bissau leaders promised the delegates to the extraordinary summit meeting in Luanda that Luis Cabral "would not be tried and that he would be freed soon."

Pedro Pires said he was convinced that this will happen "since Luis Cabral is an inconvenient prisoner to have."

In the presence of ambassadors and other heads of diplomatic missions from several countries, Pires declared that the imprisonment of Luis Cabral "is an international problem and that his friends will not abandon him at this time."

12,116 CSO: 4401

BRIEFS

PEREIRA CHAD STATEMENT DENIED--Praia, 3 Feb--A government source indicated today in Praia that the Cape Verde government intends to clarify its position in regard to the Chad problem at the next OAU meeting. The government spokesman made this announcement in response to statements attributed to President Aristides Pereira by the JAMA news agency of Libya. It had reported on 27 January that Aristides Pereira said he supported Libyan action in Chad and he views with optimism the plan for unification of Libya and Chad. The same Libyan agency said this position of the Cape Verde chief of state had been expressed to the Nigerian minister of rural development who was visiting Cape Verde, where he discussed issues related to security in West and Central Africa. [Excerpt] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 4 Feb 81 p 8]

FRANCE UNABLE TO CHANGE SITUATION FOR FORESERABLE FUTURE

Paris LE MONDE in French 7 Feb 81 p 7

[Article by Pierre Biarnes "The Chad Crisis: How Did We Get There?"]

[Excerpts] The victory of president Goukouni Oueddei's faction in Chad with the decisive military support of Libya, made complete by the conquest of Ndjamena on 15 December 1980, marked a major step in the history of the former French colony and a serious reversal for Paris' African policy; also, the "merging" of Chad and Libya alarms Paris' African allies.

Pierre Biarnes explains below how the dismantling of Chad, which ended in an attempt to place it under the tutelage of its northern neighbor, was made possible by the evolution of that disparate assembly since the colonial period.

In more than thirty years of inexorable withdrawal to the hexagon, France has nowhere left so great a gap as in Chad, where many months ago the modern state apparatus, inherited from the colonial period, had already foundered, and the nation that had begun to take form fell to pieces. This state of affairs is at least as worrisome as Colonel Qadhdhafi's designs for hegemony on several other countries of the black continent threatened by a similar evolution.

By imposing its domination on those Central African regions which have since become Chad, France suddenly stopped the Arab and secular Islamic advance to the negro-African and animist South which it had earlier placed under its protection. However, never during the 50 years of "French peace" which followed, despite unification efforts, was the frontier between "Dar el-Islam" (land of Islam) and "Dar el-Abid" (land of slaves) completely effaced, nor the inexorable expansion of peoples and ideas coming from the north, in the light of what has since happened in Chad after a half-century's break imposed from the outside.

True, the colonizer tried to strengthen the communications network linking the whole of the territory with its capital, to develop a few "income" producing activities—in this case, cotton production—and to provide a little schooling to the children. But this very simple action, intended to be based on egalitarian principles, was to experience unequal results and as a consequence in a few decades provoked a dangerous social and political disequilibrium to the detriment of the northern half of the country, a disequilibrium whose direct consequence is the current Chad tragedy.

Revenge of the Saras

Immediately after the harsh confrontations of the conquest, Moslem Chad enjoyed the colonial administration's partiality, becoming "the Chad of the commanders"--ordinarily, desert-loving officers who adapted themselves admirably to it, leading the nomads' "noble life," speaking their language and possessing great influence over them. But this Moslem Chad was also the "useless Chad," heavily populated, with seasonally migrating shepherds, where no industrial culture could be developed and where, above all, it quickly proved almost impossible to provide a modern education to the young generations because of the constraints imposed by the lifestyles and the persisting strength of the traditional social structures.

In the south, to the contrary, was fertile a country with lakes, rivers and forested savannah, in the former Da el-abid, lacking astrong tradition of state control, but much more heavily populated where Islam had almost no penetration. There a more impersonal administration mainly concerned with production and income, liked less but more efficient, meanwhile developed a "useful Chad" devoting itself to cotton production, whose children quickly and in great numbers attended French schools, colonial schools as well as the more numerous Catholic and Protestant schools.

Later on, it was there, particularly in the dominant Sara ethnic group, that quite naturally the public administration and the French army recruited their clerks and soldiers. By the end of the 50's the former "slaves" had virtually supplanted their former "masters." It was the French presence alone, continuing despite everything to impose a certain equilibrium primarily by forbidding southerners from coming to rule directly over northerners, that prevented that situation from coming to light. Independence was not long in revealing this new power balance. Then in the autumn of 1964, at the sudden request of the Fort-Lamy authorities, increasingly irritated by that last vestige of the "Chad of the commanders," the French army withdrew from BET [Borkous-Ennedi-Tibesti], and the Saras could finally move in with their own special administrative methods.

In a region where arabism was in full rebirth and Islam strongly expanding the Saras' revenge could only be of short duration.

Revolt of the Gorances and the Toubous

The center and the east were the first to flare up. On 27 October 1965 the inhabitants of Mangalme, a middle-size locality in the north-east of Guera, about 550 km from Fort Lamy, who were tired of the demands of all kinds levied on them for several years, rose up against the tax collectors who had come to extort payments on a market day, and massacred a dozen of the officials. A pitiless repression was immediately clamped down on the little town, and Tombalbaye took advantage of it to arrest soon afterwards a few more Moslems whom he accused of having provoked the insurrection as a prelude to a "coup d'Etat."

That was the beginning of an insurrection which within 15 years, was to bring about inexorably the fall of the Sara dictators, the defeat of his ethnic group, and in the end the collapse of the Chad state itself. France—torn between the desire once again to stop the forces and ideas coming from the north who were profiting from developments and resuming their age—old march to the south; and the confused aware—ness, this time, of the impossibility of the effort—was step by step driven out of its former colony, succeeding only in turning against it, one after the other, all the protagonists of the tragedy....

The years 1968-1969 marked an important turning point in the conflict with the entry of Colonel Qadhdhafi on the scene—he had just overthrown King Idriss but at once adopted the Senoussies' demands and objectives for the BET and also of the old derde Oueddei Kichemedi, the traditional chief of the Toubous. Two years earlier, fleeing from the Saras' exactions, he had taken refuge in Tripoli, and his three sons, Hanneur, Hadj Moulinaye and Goukouni, had in their turn rebelled along with the FROLINAT [Chadien National Liberation Front] (the first two were summarily executed by the sbires of Tombalbaye when captured). Finally, also in 1968-1969 Chad, with its armies increasingly overrun, resigned itself to call on France for help. French intervention took place in two periods. In August-September 1968, logistical support, limited to Tibesti, was first granted: then, in March 1969 when the situation continued to deteriorate General de Gaulle agreed to commit directly French soldiers in all the regions of the country which were in revolt.

Quite quickly the rebellion receded on all fronts but it was not crushed however. At the end of 1972, as soon as the greater part of the expeditionary forces of the former metropolis were withdrawn, it started up more than ever particularly in the Tibesti. This region, mountainous and difficult to get to, was where Goukouni Oueddei's Toubous were becoming the hard core of opposition to the Sara domination. They were soon to be assisted by the Goranes of a former French agent, Hissein Habre, who had gone over to their cause for the sake of adventure. Libya (which meanwhile had "dropped" Mr Abba Siddick) was soon also to lend support.

General Felix Malloum, also Sara, who as chief of staff succeeded him [Tombalbaye] as head of Chad with Paris' blessing, had no more success than his predecessor in defeating his adversaries. Failing that, neither could be bring them over to his side, the more so since Mr Giscard d'Estaing, caught up in the incredible "Claustre affair," had to negotiate under duress with them, with Tripoli intervening. The BET cases fell, one after another, and the regular Chad troops, inexorably pushed back toward their ancestral south, only succeeded in hanging on for awhile to the Abeche-Ndjamena line, which cuts the country in two, thanks to an intervention by the former metropolis which provided in extremis its Jaguars. But aware of the precariousness of this new sharp check, France at the same time could only advise its protege of the moment to reach an agreement, through the intermediary of Libya, with Goukouni Queddei, whose authority over the Borkous, the Ennedi and the Tibesti was at that time expressly recognized (Benghazi agreements of 27 March 1978). France also advised using, above all, Sudan as a mediator, with Mr Hissene Habre who had meanwhile fallen out with the Toubou chief and his protector Qadhdhafi, and who then became, in a completely unforeseen way, the prime minister of a hopelessly

^{1.} An episode quite forgotten today. In 1955, that is 5 years before Chad's independence and still under French domination, King Idriss, whose country had itself just recovered its sovereignty, and while he was far from possessing the military means of his successor, lost no time in sending a motorized column to take possession of the Aozou oasis for a few days—the time needed to get them out—which he already then considered as unquestionably Libyan.

^{2.} Wife of the chief of the administrative mission at Ndjamena, Francoise Claustre, carried off by the men of Goukouni and of Habre in the Bardai oasis 24 April 1974, was only freed by her kidnappers in January 1977, after many ups and downs where the tragic (execution of the former "boss" of Habre, major Calopin, who came as a negotiator but was in his turn arrested) bordered the ridiculous.

divided and powerless improvised government (Khartoum agreements of 4 August 1978).

Since then almost all the protagonists of the tragedy which continues to be played out around Lake Chad were in position, and France already seemed to be overtaken by events. In February 1979 General Forest, commander in chief of the expeditionary force, before being suddenly recalled to Paris for having, it appears, exceeded his instructions, conspicuously gave his support to Hissene Habre, in revolt against president Malloum who was increasingly challenged by one of his lieutenants, Lieutenant-Colonel Wadal Abdelkader Kamougue. The latter was able however to make most of the southern troops withdraw in good order toward their places of origin. But Goukouni and his partisans in their turn entered into Ndjamena which at the same time as Libya, Nigeria, heir to the Bornou empire, at present seems increasingly to wish to place under its sovereignty, at least in its zone of privileged influence. The following August, the Lagos agreements, while seeking to impose a government of national unity under the control of the OAU, bringing together all the country's quarrelling factions, in fact only ratified the return of what is by habit continued, to be called Chad to the situation prevailing there at the end of the last century.

The colonial interlude was closed and last May while the nomads of Messrs Goukouni and Habre finished destroying a capital which had not been built for them, the former metropolis found no better solution than definitively withdrawing its troops which for several months already had only been maintained there as powerless spectators.

It is difficult to agree that the resolutions of the recent Lome conference—for all that, almost as vigorously anti-French as anti-Libyan, by the express will of Nigeria, even if Paris is not specifically named—can fundamentally change this situation in the foreseeable future.

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LEADERS OF MINORITY PARTIES VIEW MERGER

Warning Seconded

Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 11 Feb 81 p 8

[Excerpts] The national women's leader of the United National Convention (UNC), Mrs Rebecca Hawa Ayebo, has warned the country's Minority parties against the dangers in rushing into a merger that would eventually end up in futility.

She noted that any meaningful alliance or merger by the Minority parties should not on y be based on a well-defined and spelt-out terms that would be acceptable to the parties but must also take account of the most crucial question of leader-ship.

Mrs Ayebo therefore appealed to leaders of the Minority parties to think more of re-organising their parties to be strong and virile so as to offer the party in power what she termed "strong opposition."

She said a Minority party could be as strong as any other party without necessarily being in power.

Ongoing Consultation

Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 12 Feb 81 p 1

[Article by Breda Atta-Quayson]

[Text] Series of consultations are now going on among the leaders of the country's give minority parties to consider ways of coming together to present a viable alternative to the ruling People's National Party (PNP) administration.

The parties are the Popular Front Party (PFP), the United National Convention (UNC), the Action Congress Party (ACP), the Social Democratic Front (SDF) and the Third Force Party (TFP).

A statement released in Accra yesterday and signed by each of the five leaders, stated that the leaders were announcing their intention subject to final agreement on all details and at the appropriate moment to merge all their parties into one unified party.

According to the statement if negotiations resulted in full agreement between all the parties, "the new party to be formed will present one presidential candidate and one candidate for every other elective office at all future elections."

Last weekend, a leading member of ACP, Madam Esi Asmabah hinted at an ACP rally at Cape Coast the plans were afoot by the minority parties to merge and elect Col F.G. Bernasko, leader of ACP as its leader.

The statement however brought a disclaimer from Col. Bernasko.

The ACP said Madam Asmabah's statement was made "without the authority and knowledge of ACP and was purely the speculation f Madam Asmabah."

MANDATORY MAJORITY STATE PARTICIPATION WILL BE REVIEWED

Accra GHANIAN TIMES in English 10 Feb 81 pp 1, 8

[Excerpts] Ghana will soon move away from its present mandatory policy of majority State participation in the mining sector of the economy, Mr Kofi Batsa, chairman of the board of directors of the Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation (GIHOC), said here today.

He explained that there would now be a minority State participation of 30 percent, and the majority shareholder-foreign investor would be entitled to management control "so long as it continues to hold majority shares".

Mr Batsa, who was addressing the New York Black Group on the theme, "Ghana, the re-emergence" explained that the rationale behind the new policy recommended by a task force of investment committee was that while "it assures that proceeds of sale of minerals mined accrue to the country, it guarantees the investor re-coupment of his risk capital and makes the accumulation of shares by the State negotiable".

He said additionally, tax concessions and remitability facilities would be included in a code as special incentives which could be withdrawn when payback risk capital had been completed.

Mr Batsa, whose talk was, in the main, a comprehensive summary of Ghana's economic problems and plans for its acceleration, invited America's Black African race to participate in the political and economic impetus taking place in Africa today.

He dwelt at length on the VALCO agreement and said in spite of all the military and civilian changes in government in Ghana, VALCO's investments had grown from strength to strength.

EDITORIAL CONSIDERS REASONS FOR OIL PRICE INCREASES

Accra CHANAIAN TIMES in English 11 Feb 81 p 2

[Editorial]

(Text) In at least two editorial comments and three articles in the last five years or so, the Press in Ghana has cautioned African governments to take care not to fall prey to the politics of oil price increases.

The commentators' concern stemmed from their belief that in putting all the blame for the oil price increases on the producing countries (OPEC), the aim of the industrialized Western countries was to put the Third World against itself to sabotage its solidarity, thereby preventing a solid Third World front in the North-South Dialogue.

For, once the under-developed countries were made to see rising oil prices as the cause of their economic difficulties, they would wrongly see the OPEC (whose members are Third World nations) as their enemy.

Such an unfair picture of OPEC would also be disastrous for the fledgling post-1973 Afro-Arab accord against Zionism and Apartheid, because OPEC includes many Arab oil producing countries.

The commentators' argument at that time was that in the face of the rising cost of manufactured goods from the industrialized countries, the oil producers, most of whom depend on the importation of such goods for survival, had no choice but to increase their oil prices—their sole source of national income—to get enough foreign currency to meet their rising import bills.

So the commentators concluded that the oil price increases were caused by the developed countries and not by the desire of OPEC members to get rich for the mere sake of getting rich.

Now, however, another factor is known as a cause of the oil price increases for which the oil producing countries cannot be blamed.

The Secretary-General of the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU), Mr Enmela Janoud, revealed in Accra on Monday that the frequent oil price increases are caused by the frequent levying of higher production costs by the foreign oil companies which operate the oil fields of the OPEC countries.

Production costs involve the cost of inputs--machines and equipment--and the emoluments of foreign experts, et cetera, most of which are determined by the oil companies.

The most costly of the inputs are imported at the expense of the foreign exchange earnings of the countries involved. And if the countries must exploit their oil deposits in order to survive, then they have no choice but to pay for the inputs at the prices mentioned by the oil companies, even if these prices increase tenfold every year.

If you ask the average Ghanaian to tell you who causes the oil price increases, he will readily blame the OPEC countries. It is the same answer in all under-developed countries. There is therefore, for example, such bitterness in Africa against Arab countries for this reason.

So the developed countries have got away almost clean: By trumpeting the oil price increases, they have succeeded in turning the non-oil members of the Third World against its oil producing members to the extent that we have forgotten that much of our national economic problems are caused by the oppressive cost of imported goods and not oil prices alone.

Certainly, we can blame our rich Arab friends for not giving us enough aid from the millions they have in banks in the developed countries which help those countries to develop even faster ahead of us.

But it is not the same as blaming OPEC alone for causing the oil prices. Such blame means falling for a bait with which the industrialized world seeks to dodge its responsibility for the world inflation; it also prevents an effective Third World front for bargaining from a position of strength against the haves of the North.

BRIEFS

AMMUNITION SMUGGLING—A Ghanaian student who was arrested by the Tema Police for alleged illegal importation of ammunitions into the country was yesterday granted \$\psi_10,000\$ bail with two sureties when he appeared before a Tema Circuit Court. The student, Samuel Obeng, pleaded not guilty to a charge of illegal importation of ammunitions. Prosecuting, Chief Inspector S.K. Essel, told the court presided over by Mr 0.0. Larbi, that on January 29, this year, Obeng, who was clearing his goods from the harbour, declared to Customs officials a crate which he said contained his clothing and personal effects. Chief Inspector Essel said Customs officials who demanded to search the crate found 9,690 pieces of ammunition with some concealed in cornflake boxes. Obeng, the prosecution said, was therefore arrested and charged with the offence. In his defence, Obeng explained that he did not know that the crate contained ammunitions. He said he asked his shippers in London to pack the ammunitions in different crates so that he could declare the two separately. Obeng will appear before the court again on Friday. [Text] [Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 12 Feb 81 pp 1, 5]

BRIEFS

JAPANESE RICE CULTURE ASSISTANCE--Dakar, 21 Jan--Diplomatic sources in Dakar have announced that Japan has guaranteed to Guinea-Bissau aid estimated at nearly \$891,800 for the development of rice cultivation in the country. According to these sources a Japanese delegation will arrive in Guinea-Bissau in April of this year to supervise the execution of the project. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 22 Jan 81 p 8] 12,116

COOPERATION WITH INDIA REPORTED

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 23 Jan 81 pp 1, 2

[Text] Three months after presenting his credentials to President Didier Ratsiraka, his excellency Mr Satinder Puri, ambassador of India to the RDM [Democratic Republic of Madagascar] yesterday held his first press conference. The press conference coincided with the "wind-up" (or almost!) of the series of courtesy calls that an ambassador generally makes during the first weeks of his duty to the principal leaders of the Revolutionary Power. It was then with complete knowledge of our deepest aspirations and of the willingness of his country to collaborate with the RDM that the Indian diplomat conducted his first contacts with the Malagasy press.

Everything was reviewed yesterday morning for two hours, in first place, holding a conference of the foreign affairs ministers of the nonaligned countries in New Delhi from 8 to 12 February in which Hadagascar will of course participate. The present worldwide economic crisis was notably on the agenda, as well as the South-South dialogue, launched at the last summit meeting of the nonaligned countries, in Havana, by President Didier Ratsiraka and the verification of whether or not the nonaligned countries have made any progress in applying the motions voted at their last summit meeting in Havana.

"As the host country of such a meeting and India having been a part of the small group of countries which assured the fatherhood of the nonaligned movement, we hope," Ambassador Satinder Puri declared, "that it will be one of the most positive for nonalignment at a moment when the world, and in particular the developing countires, aspire to a new social and economic order."

Regarding the bilateral relations between India and Madagascar, Ambassador Satinder Puri seemed truly disposed to exert his best efforts to develop them in the name of the South-South dialogue in question. If economic exchanges are up to this moment very small between the two countries—India imports nearly 1600 tons of cashew nuts every year and we import from India bicycles, sewing machines and some surgical instruments—it will not continue that way—he hopes—in the coming months. Two reasons are at the bottom of his optimism: the credit terms currently granted by the Indian government have become today more flexible, Indian technology offers greater and greater diversity since the industrial "boom" of Nehru's country during these last few years.

Besides, two Malagasy experts have been invited to the International Fair at New Delhi next February. Toward the end of this year, another international economic manifestation will be held again in India and Madagascar is one of the African countries invited to have a booth there. As can be verified, the Indian side thus shows this determination to find new foundations for relations with the RDM. This is true on the Malagasy side as well in the light of suggestions picked up here and there by the Indian diplomat throughout the series of courtesy calls which he has paid since his arrival in Madagascar with the country's different top leaders.

Another preoccupation of the Indian ambassador deserves to be emphasized. It concerns the relations which Indian immigrants to Madagascar should have with the Malagasys. It is true in fact that for various reasons these immigrants do not identify themselves as they should with the realities of their country "of adoption" and some still remember the unfortunate incidents which happened to them in 1977.

At the same time that he declared that he is doing his best to advise his compatriots to participate in Madagascar's development and to respect the laws which are in effect. He customarily tells them "if you break Malagasy law, the government of India will not be there to defend you." His excellency Mr Satinder Puri emphasizes that his task is not easy. In fact, it is difficult for him to control the actions and gestures of Indian immigrants while in fact, among them, there are French, Pakistani and even Malagasy nationals; without counting the expatriates who are not in his confidence and who however pass for Indian nationals in the eyes of the public. In any case, one thing is certain: this is also one of the subjects which worries the new representative of New Delhi in Antananarivo. His goal is to strengthen the bonds which have existed for a long time between India and Madagascar. This is a reason for which India, furthermore, in the opinion of its ambassador in Antananarivo, entirely espouses the Malagasy initiative to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

This mutual acquaintance is further a role for the Indo-Malagasy friendship of which the ambassador himself and his close collaborator, Mr Sharat Sabhawal, are among the strongest defenders.

India, which celebrates its 31st anniversary of independence next Monday, will certainly have something to say about this great project and its concrete application. This great country--665 million inhabitants!--today enjoying self-sufficiency in almost all domains, does not reject the primary ideal of universal interdependence.

A nonaligned country since the beginning, the countries of the Third World, like Madagascar, expect a great deal from its experience.

12,116 CSO: 4400

BRIEFS

GDR TRUCKS--Toamasina--In our edition of last 31 October, we spoke of unloading the first lot of 128 trucks out of the 1000 ordered by the revolutionary power from the GDR. Those 128 trucks were officially received at Toamasina. Two months later, toward the end of December, the second lot comprising 100 trucks had been unloaded from the same ship "Ile de La Reunion" in the same port of Toamasina. Among those 100 trucks, there are at least 20 semi-trailers. For the moment, we do not yet entirely know this second shipment's distribution. Is it only for Toamasina? However, one thing is certain: in the hold of the ship "Majunga," there are trucks and perhaps also some semi-trailers destined for the faritany of Mahajanga. Let us hope that this equipment will be put to its best possible use. The other day, it was reported to us that certain drivers, instead of respecting the indicated load limit, exceeded it, which will damage the equipment. Furthermore, we draw the attention of the drivers to the excessive speed that they should avoid, which we have noted in Toamasina and on National Route 2 between Brickaville and the Great Port. [Text] [Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 22 Jan 81 p 2] 12,116

BRIEFS

KASENALLY TOUR OF GULF--Dr Swaley Kasenally, MPM deputy for the 13th district, leaves on a tour of the Gulf states, particularly Qatar and Abu Dhabi, today. He will meet the highest authorities of these countries and return in about a week. His tour is one of the MPM's many contacts dealing with the economic future of Mauritius. [Text] [Port Louis LE NOUVEAU MILITANT in French 13-19 Feb 81 p 1]

PLANNING MINISTER COMMENTS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF CENTRAL STATE PLAN

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 16, 17, 19 Jan 81

[Interview with Mario Machungo, minister of planning, by members of the Mozambican press; date and place not given]

[16 Jan 81, p 3]

[Excerpts] How the plan is organized, our experience in planning, the role of the Political and Organizational Offensive, the central goals of PEC/81 (Central State Plan/1981), problems faced by the productive sectors in meeting established goals: these are some of the questions to which Mario Machungo, minister of planning and minister of agriculture, offers instructive answers in this, the first of several parts of a lengthy conversation between a national news team and this official of the party and state.

Export the Most, Improve Supplies to People

Press: Mr Minister, what is the concept on which the Central State Plan for 1981 is based?

Minister of Planning: First let us say that this is the first economic plan of the Decade of Victory Over Underdevelopment. It is the start up plan. It is a plan designed to set the stage for this reality. It is the start up plan for the decade.

We drafted the plan at a time when internationally capitalism is going through a crisis, and our economy is still strongly dependent on the capitalist area.

Well, the crisis of capitalism, combined with the oil crisis, substantially affects our economy, significantly reducing our capacity to carry out our programs, our capacity to achieve the planned growth rates. This is the situation in which our plan will be carried out.

Thus we have had to concentrate our efforts on two major areas. In the strategic area of exports, which is where we will have to increase our capacity to bring in foreign exchange to finance our development and economy. And in the strategic area of products supplied to the people, which is one of the ultimate goals of our development—the progressive improvement of the standard of living of our people.

Thus in the export area we have been very precise in defining the strategic products: cashew nuts, sugar, cotton, shrimp, lumber, tea, coal, cement, tantalite, bagasse, molasses, lemons, sisal, tires and textiles. Of these products, we have singled out a half dozen representing the largest part of our export revenues. They are cashew nuts, sugar, shrimp, lumber, cotton and tea.

In this area, the goal is to export the maximum. The goals we have set are not definitive; they are not the last word. When we set one of these goals and find we can export the set volume in the first 6 months, it means we have acheived the minimum goal we set, because the remaining capacity will surpass the goal. We must surpass these minimum goals, and we have the capacity to do so.

Then we have the area of strategic products to supply to the people. There are 15 products: corn, rice, potatoes, condensed milk, meat, sugar, soap, batteries, matches, fish, cloth wrappers, poplin, corn meal, wheat flour, cooking oil and salt. In this area the immediate goal is to increase domestic production to reduce imports. But the ultimate objective is to improve our people's diet and to meet the needs of our people. Unlike some other countries, it is certainly not our intent to achieve this objective by importing everything the people need. This is the case of oil-producing countries and those with great minimal wealth which can import everything, but we cannot do this. We have to create the domestic capacity to produce and stop importing, in order to be independent.

Therefore, this plan is already aimed at converting our economy to free it from its existing dependence on other economies, namely capitalist conomies, to create the domestic capacity to first of all satisfy the domestic needs of our people. These are the most important aspects.

Without Improved Supply, Exports Cannot Improve

Press: Mr Minister, you pointed out that the primary factor for our growth is through exports but the great immediate goal is to supply the people. What is the relationship between these two areas in mobilizing our capacity so that the planned goals for each area are complementary?

Minister of Planning: We said that the goal is to export and, on the other hand, to supply the people.

To increase exports implies improving the level of supply to the people. It means we will have cloth (which we do not produce yet) when we need it, to supply the rural areas, so they will produce more, too. It means we will have kerosene lamps and candles; it means we will have lamp oil; it means we will have earrings; it means we will have sun glasses. Why sun glasses? This is what motivates the peasant to gather the pail of cashew nuts. It means having earrings because the peasant is motivated to buy a present for his wife, and so he will gather a pail of cashew nuts. It means having a series of goods that, at first glance we would call trinkets, but they are not. They are what motivate people to perform a particular job. It means we are insuring that, there in the country store for instance, there will be hammers, nails and pliers. These must be available to cut wire, fix the house or mend chairs.

This link between export and supplies is a close one. It is impossible to conceive of our country, even with a high level of development, as having a closed economy.

It must have relations with other countries. Even in those areas where we will have the capacity and potential to produce some items, it would not be advisable, from the standpoint of comparative benefits in terms of the international division of labor, for us to think about setting up a pin factory, for example. But are not pins and needles necessary? They are. Are we going to say now that we should set up a needle factory?

We are not going to set up a needle factory. If it were suitable, we could do so, but it is better to import needles which people need there in the countryside. It is better to import needles and concentrate on producing sugar, tea and cashew nuts.

In this phase in which we are still dependent on other countries for some products --transportation equipment, agricultural industry equipment, spare parts and consumer goods that we do not produce yet--we make these purchases with foreign exchange, and these we get from our exports. We also know that almost daily the prices in the foreign market go up on products we are all familiar with, such as crude oil. We heard in the address of his excellency, the finance minister, that we are in a dance of the numbers, and this in fact has very bad effects on our economy.

[17 Jan 81, p 3]

[Excerpts] To impose proletarian discipline, as the decisive factors in organizing production, and to promote and insure the success of agricultural marketing: these are the basic themes addressed by Mario Machungo, minister of planning and minister of agriculture, in this segment of his interview.

Yesterday we printed the first part of this long conversation between the party and government official and the national news media, in which the dominant themes were the goals and organization of the Central State Plan for 1981.

Today's segment will be followed by others in later editions, to which we call our readers' attention. As we said yesterday, the rich discussion in this press conference constitutes a needed document to accompany the study of such basic texts as the Resolution of the Eighth Session of the FRELIMO Party Central Committee regarding PEC/81.

Organization of Production's Central Issue

Press: Mr Minister, in the State Plan for 1981, to which you just referred, there are provisions for improving the level of supply to the people over that of 1980, but it does not provide for increased imports of consumer goods. In light of this, how is such an improvement possible?

Minister of Planning: I believe that in the previous discussion I tried to answer this question in part, but I could expand on it. In effect, the plan calls for an improvement in supplying the people with strategic goods, but also with other products. This increase will result mainly from an organizational effort to be developed on the industrial and agricultural fronts. This is the point here.

Much of our capacity that is now idle could be used to develop our economy, without need of new investments.

If we were highly organized, if there were strong working discipline from the top of the pyramid, the director of the company, to the basic unit of the enterprise, if there were an effort to use our capacity to the fullest, we could double, triple or quadruple our production.

Hence this question of organization is a serious issue, it is the central issue in the process of our socialist development. Only with socialism is it possible in fact to improve labor efficiency to the limit, because our motive is not profit, but the satisfaction of our needs.

This raises another question as well: the problem of marketing the product. Peasant production, cooperative production, is of use to the people only to the extent that it is marketed, not stored in warehouses or granaries. Production for family consumption does not develop the economy, it does not stimulate the economy.

We must have larger surplusses that can be marketed, and the market should have available the manufactured products the people need, products I cited above, and in sufficient quantities. The market place should offer enough incentives so the peasant will think: "Look, this year, if we earn so many meticals working in this area and at this level, it is worth our while to work just a little bit harder, because that way we will also be improving the living standard in our communal village, the living standard of our cooperative, our own living standard. Tomorrow, or within a year, I could get a motor scooter, and I want a motor scooter. Sure, if I can earn 30,000 meticals instead of the 20,000 I earned last year, I can buy a motor scooter, I can buy a bicycle, I can buy a 'Xirico' radio, which I don't have, but my neighbor does because he produced more than I did last year."

There must, then, be a close link between industrial production and peasant production, which will allow us to take a great step forward in the utilization of our existing production capacity, which is immense. The state farms also play a large role in this, not as a sector that will contribute directly to supplying the people, but one that will help stimulate other sectors of activity, namely, the family and cooperative sectors. How will they do this? By their action in commercializing the rural economy.

[18 Jan 81 portion of interview omitted]

[19 Jan 81 p 3]

[Excerpts] After answering some questions regarding foreign trade, in this fourth part of the interview Mario Machungo takes up the central issue, one which should involve all the workers throughout this year crion for continuing supervision of the plan. In this respect that the continuing supervision of the plan. In this respect that the government leader stressed: "Company directors are obligated to discuss the 1981 plan with the workers in the Production Councils and with the Party Cell." This is the central topic in today's segment of the interview.

In each of the three previous editions, we devoted a page to the text of a long interview granted to the nation's press by the minister of planning and agriculture. The first three segments dealt with the goals and organization of the plan, the need to impose proletarian discipline and finally, yesterday, the continuing pursuit of the Political and Organizational Offensive in all sectors, as well as the responsibilities of the local structurs.

More Aggressive Foreign Trade

Press: Regarding the link between the plan and our international relations, what action is planned within the framework of the State Plan for 1981?

Minister of Planning: Within the scope of the Central State Plan for 1981, first we must implement the agreements we have already signed with various countries with which we have economic relations. This is the first priority. The signed agreements must be honored, to consolidate and develop economic relations with neighboring countries and with the other socialist countries.

Above all, here is the basic issue in our foreign relations: we must be more aggressive in our foreign trade. To be more aggressive means to be more efficient, it means to make a serious marketing effort. It means we want to sell, that we must seek out customers and offer high quality merchandise. When we buy, we must look for the best value. It means eliminating certain ills that we still have in foreign trade.

We must accept the fact of cutting the remaining umbilical cords of those who are responsible for foreign trade. Efficiency and not routine or habit should be our main concern.

Serious foreign trade also calls for training qualified cadres who know how to do business. This is the other one of our fronts: cadres who have few vices, earnest cadres, because there are many corrupt people.

Creating Complementary Trade With the "Nine"

Press: Again on the question of foreign trade, doesn't the Central Plan give particular attention to southern Africa?

Minister of Planning: As I said a little while ago, we must strength our relations with neighboring countries, within the group of the "nine," to increase complementary trade among us.

There is a small problem here. The problem is that the imperialists made us specialize in the production and export of the same products. So we also need to make our trade complementary.

We have not yet achieved the proper division of labor among us. There is a giant. This industrialized giant is South Africa. It is capable of meeting the needs, of diversifying imports and exports with each of the "nine." Among ourselves, however, we "nine" all produce the same thing, and we all need to import the same things.

We must try to take advantage of the existing potential of each country and achieve a complementary economy. For example, we accept the idea that it is our mission to develop the transport sector. We have to develop this area, which will in fact make it possible to establish the proper complementary relationship with those countries with which we deal in this area.

Socialist Countries Now Provide Much Equipment

Press: How much weight do the socialist countries have in our foreign trade relations?

Minister of Planning: I must say that our relations with some of the CEMA member countries have been developing sharply from the time of our independence to date. One need only note that before independence our country had no direct relations with any CEMA member country. They were developed only after our independence. And today the relationship seems to be somewhat the reverse.

Our relations with the CEMA member countries are developing well.

No More Secrets From the Workers

Press: As you have just pointed out, Mr Minister, one of the questions thought to be of major importance to the success of the plan is worker participation in its design and, later, in its execution and supervision. Well, this presupposes that the workers are familiar with the plan, as you also noted. This was not the case in 1980, however. So we would like to know, first, what specific action is being taken for this participation.

Minister of Planning: Right here, there is another important aspect: first, why was it that the workers did not take part in previous years? We need to abolish certain taboos with respect to industrial secrecy. There are elements of economic activity that we have held over from the capitalist system, where secrecy is the soul of business. Often management does not reveal the plan to workers because they are able [sic] to keep it a secret. We must put an end to this.

In our case, the plan cannot be implemented correctly without the knowledgeable participation of the workers. There is no room for secrecy. Why secrets? Why should there be secrecy when it is a matter of satisfying the needs of all of us? The subject and object around which all production is centered is the worker, who produces all the wealth, and he must be familiar with the goals. He must know to what end he is producing, and for whom.

Therefore, the company directors have an obligation to discuss the plan for 1981 with the workers in the Production Councils and with the party cell. The cooperatives must also discuss the 1981 plan (some agricultural cooperatives are already doing this), so the respective supervision can be exercised in each case.

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YOUTH ORGANIZATION ISSUES STATEMENT OF SELF-CRITICISM

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 2 Feb 81 pp 2, 4

[Statement by the National Coordinating Council of the OJM [Organization of Mozambican Youth] in Maputo at its sixth session; date not given]

[Excerpts] The OJM National Coordinating Council, at its sixth session, decided to approve the document which we publish in full below, in which it makes its self-criticism for errors committed and promises to rectify them so the organization can accomplish the tasks assigned to it.

l. Creation of the Organization of Mozambican Youth conveyed the high level of participation by all young people in tasks of production, studies and defense of the nation and the revolution. Establishment of the OJM was to provide at all levels new political and organizational conditions for youth to participate as vanguard elements in the revolutionary transformation of our society.

But this did not happen. Three years after its creation, the Organization of Mozambican Youth is not significantly established in the rank and file of our youth and our structures; it was not able to accomplish the basic tasks assigned us as a democratic mass organization.

Our organization should have enrolled and mobilized millions of young people in rural and urban areas, in their places of work and of residence. The OJM should be represented in schools and strategic production enterprises, where the essential battle of our revolution is being carried out.

But this has not yet happened. The rank and file units of the OJM were not established in the majority of production centers and the most important social sectors.

In places where they do exist, they function poorly and are not firmly established.

Our organization should have the complete confidence and good will of our youth. But this is not evident. For the most part, young people view us with indifference and aloofness. In some places we are viewed with hostility.

We were unable to harness the immense potential for creative energy of youth; we were unable to make the OJM an organization that is part of the daily life of our young people and that is nourished by their ideas and their creativity. In a word, we were unable to meet the objectives the FRELIMO Party outlined for our organization.

2. The situation requires rigorous analysis to identify the basic causes of the problems.

Our analysis made it possible to distinguish three fundamental issues that led to this situation.

- 1 -- Erroneous idea of what the OJM should be as a democratic mass organization;
- 2 -- Incorrect style and working methods, especially at the leadership level;
- 3--Ineffectiveness and incompetence of members of the organization's National Coordinating Council and National Secretariat.
- 3. We were unable to understand the specific requirements and the particular nature of our work. We copied mechanically and erroneously the methods used by the party. Our task is to mobilize millions of youth but we have influence with only a minority. Our relations with youth are deficient because of formalities and requirements that alienate the young people who at first were eager to participate in our organizations.

The arrogance, formalism, strictness and distorted discipline that exist in the top leadership are reproduced as the "normal" working style at all levels of our organization. Our rank and file leaders, following the example of what we do in the top leadership, did not bother to learn at first hand the problems of the factories, cooperatives and schools, and simply shuffled papers. They were likewise insensitive to the ideas and feelings of the rank and file and adopted exclusive and elitist working methods, disregarding the criticisms and suggestions of activists and collaborators. This kind of behavior, which was widespread, was instituted by the OJM leadership. Along with these errors, there was also rampant sectarianism, a knowit-all attitude, militarism, prejudices based upon educational differences, and so forth.

4. One of the main factors that contributed to arriving at this situation was the ineffectiveness of the National Secretariat, the leadership structure between the sessions of the National Coordinating Council. The problems and deficiencies we have been pointing out are centered in the Secretariat. These behavioral errors are in the most part compounded by personality weaknesses.

The Secretariat, which should be composed of eight members, now has only three. This session decided that the existing vacancies must be filled.

But the question of numerical composition is not fundamental. It does no good to reinforce the National Secretariat if current leadership errors persist.

In the current session of the CCN [National Coordinating Council], the members of the Secretariat were criticized, and they acknowledged their errors and promised to overcome them.

5. But the major responsibility for this situation must be attributed to us, the National Coordinating Council, the leading structure between conferences. As a matter of fact, the situation deteriorated due to the passivity of the Coordinating Council. We did nothing to correct these errors in due course. It is not possible to criticize the National Secretariat without also criticizing the performance of the National Coordinating Council, which abdicated its leadership role.

The National Coordinating Council makes its self-criticism before the party leaders and before the nation's youth for not having been able to assume the leadership role that was its responsibility in directing the OJM.

In discussing how to overcome this situation, the National Coordinating Council determined that, given the organization's current conditions, to merely replace the members of the National Secretariat would not automatically solve the problem. It is now necessary to find thorough-going solutions based upon a new perspective of work and upon the relations that should exist between the OJM and young people.

Hence, the National Coordinating Council promisus to assume its leadership role in order to:

- -- Rectify the errors ascertained at this session;
- --Help the members of the National Secretariat to overcome their faults of work and behavior:
- --Establish accountability and individual responsibility as the method of work.

The principle of accountability must not exist in the abstract, but in keeping with the priority tasks listed in the Work Program approved at this session.

To assume the leading role means:

- --To be responsible for establishing working plans, deadlines and responsibilities that must be observed rigorously and for establishing working agreements with other structures of the party and state;
- -- To take responsibility for mobilizing and recruiting youth for fulfilling the Central State Plan (PEC);
- -- To carry out specific and permanent activities that consolidate the structures of the rank and file and of leadership and that lead to a firm presence of the OJM in the midst of youth.

This work will be proactical and effective so that our organization can again achieve the esteem and confidence of young people. The prestige of our organization will emerge from specific activities that respond to the concerns of youth and that involve them thoroughly.

The National Coordinating Council approved a program of work based upon the organization's main tasks and fulfillment of the PEC.

6. However, given the gravity of the alienation between the OJM and the young masses, the CCN considers it imperative to foster discussion at all levels so that young people may participate in the critical analysis of the organization's situation.

Fostering this discussion is one of the fundamental conditions for the OJM to recover confidence and credibility in the eyes of youth and the people. The CCN considers it important that the warmth and depth of this session's analysis be transported to the provincial, district and local structures and to youth in general.

The CCN likewise considers it important that preparation of its seventh session involve thoroughly the rank and file of the organization and of youth. The results and analysis of the extent of fulfilling the tasks defined in this session will permit evaluation of the earnestness of our self-criticism and our degree of commitment.

The CCN salutes the party leaders and especially the comrade president, for their guidance in our work, which resulted in our finding the right road to the progress of the OJM.

To organize youth is to consolidate the revolution!

The struggle continues!

8834

BRIEFS

CANADIAN CORN DONATION--The governments of Canada and the People's Republic of Mozambique [RPM] signed on Friday an agreement through which Canada will give the RPM a donation of 5,500 tons of corn to assist the victims of the drought that ravaged large areas of our national territory. The agreement was signed by Aranda da Silva, our minister of domestic commerce, and H. Bacon, Canadian ambassador in Mozambique. This emergency help responds to the appeal made by the leaders of our party and state to the international community to assist drought victims in the RPM. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 1 Peb 81 p 3] 8834

JOINT COMMUNIQUE WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA--The foreign affairs ministers of Mozambique and Czechoslovakia, respectively Joaquim Chissano and Bohuslav Chnoupek, Wednesday charged in a communique that the increase of aggressive activities by imperialism led to deterioration of the international situation. The communique also says that imperialist efforts are directed against socialist countries and other progressive nations as well as against movements of national liberation. The two entities appealed for immediate suspension of South African aggression against Angola, Zambia and Mozambique, condemning, moreover, Western support for the Pretoria regime. The two ministers expressed their conviction that a conference on military withdrawal and disarmament in Europe be approved in Madrid. Joaquim Chissano made an official visit to Czechoslovakia after having been in Great Britain and Belgium and is to participate in the conference of foreign ministers of the nonalined nations in New Delhi. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 6 Feb 81 p 6] 8834

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH TURKEY--On 20 January 1981 a joint communique conveying the following message was signed in New York between the permanent representatives of the People's Republic of Mozambique (RPM) and the Republic of Turkey: "The government of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Republic of Turkey, desirous of developing and maintaining friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries, have decided to establish diplomatic relations on the ambassadorial level." Signed 20 January 1981. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 21 Jan 81 p 1] 12,116

'REPUBLIKEIN'S' VIEW OF RESOLUTION 435'S IMPLEMENTATION

Windhoek REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 4 Feb 81 p 4

[Cartoon]

[Text]



WALDHEIM You see, we shall give his complete freedom to be able to do what he wante.

CP CONTRAL COMMITTEE RESOLUTION PUBLISHED

Saint Denis TaMOIGNAGES in Prench 2 Peb 81 p 16

[Resolution adopted by Reunion Communist Party Central Committee at Le Port on February 1981]

[Text] Special Conference of 29 March 1981

Having met on 1 February 1981, the Communist Party of Reunion (PCR) Central Committee has confirmed the Veme Congress decision to hold a special conference during the first quarter of 1981.

The Central Committee has, moreover, also confirmed the date of Sunday, 29 March 1981, for the holding of this special conference.

At this conference, the PCR will draw up the negative balance sheet of the policy of 35 years of departmentalisation; failure to develop the country, increased dependence, vorsening of the unemployment situation, drop in the purchasing power of the major segments of the population, failure to respect the identity and dignity of the people of Reunion.

To go on the way we have up to now means heading for catastrophe.

This is why the PCH feels that only democratic and popular autonomy can bring the necessary change.

But getting Reunion out of the situation it is now in and setting it on the road to recovery and development will involve a long and complex process.

This is why the 29 March special conference will simultaneously propose a plan for autonomy and a /plan for transition/ [in caps].

The 29 March special conference will therefore constitute the launching of a big campaign to promote PCR objectives for the sensitizing and greatest possible mobilization of our people with an eye to a rapid and real change.

The 10,000-Member Campaign

In order to guarantee the greatest possible success for this special conference, the PCR has decided to launch a big membership campaign to achieve a party with 10,000 members.

Having met on 1 Pebruary 1981, the Central Committee with satisfaction notes that, after the first 3 weeks of the campaign, 4,200 men and women already have their 1981 party cards.

Despite a few shortcomings in certain sections, the results obtained on 1 February 1981 enable us to assume that the objectives set for 29 March will be attained and even surpassed.

Constant Support for TEMOIGNAGES

And lastly, the Central Committee has emphasized the irreplaceable role of TEMOIGNAGES in informing the public and supporting and promoting the action of militants and party members.

It reminded them of the need for redoubling their efforts in the current campaign to defend TEMOIGNAGES.

Aware of the fact that it is expressing the growing concern, if not downright anxiety, of the masses of the people of our country as regards government policy and their desire for change, the Central Committee calls on the people of Reunion to strengthen the PCR, the only force on Reunion capable of imposing a real change for freedom, justice, economic and social progress and dignity.

11,466 CSO: 4400

CP DRIVE TO RECRUIT 10,000 MEMBERS

Cell Activity Enthusiastic

Saint De is TEMOIGNAGES in French 21 Jan 81 p 5

[Text] Ulficials of the Possession branch of the Communist Party are continuing to hold meetings in connection with renewal of cell cards.

After the Alice Peverelly Cell at La Ravine a Malheur, Thursday 8 January 1981, our comrade Gerard Riviere, accompanied by Pascaline Langevilliers, Nicole Ancely, Clermont Eudore, Serge Aure, Morel Robert and Axel Marcelina, went straight to Solitude islet, then to the center of Sainte-Therese.

On Solitude islet, on the Dos d'Ane road, there is a remote and isolated spot where several agricultural families live.

The agricultural crisis has hit hard, and this quarter has lost a large part of its population. The few workers who remain are all members of the cell named for Gabriel Peri.

So here we have a small cell with ten or so members which has already done the prodigious feat of raising the entire year's dues from all members.

In the center of Sainte-Therese, the Henri Lapierre cell counts 43 members. It is one of the oldest cells in La Possession and the symbol of militancy, along with the old "Luciano Fontaine" cell in town. Here also the motivators explanations have been fruitful since the leaders have decided to increase their number of members to 90, to double the active strength of the cell.

It should be noted that secretary Gervine Ancelly, having to quit soon to get married, the cell went ahead with its change of officers and Nicole Ancely will now assume the position of secretary.

Last Friday, Roland Robert, accompanied by Gerard Riviere, took the La Mare road to the Benoit Frachon cell and then, at the request of comrade Luisin Dobaria, they took the "rural nucleus" road to set up another cell, which henceforth bears the name of "Ludger Landon," the comrade from La Ravine a Marquet, who was assassinated by thugs while returning to his home from a meeting at Le Port during the 1974 presidential election campaign. More than 30 new members got their cards then.

The same enthusiasm was present on Saturday 10 January at Dos d'Ane, where adherents of the Pietre Seymard and Eliard Laude cells listened to Roland Robert and Gerard Riviere for a long time before taking cards filled out by the secretaries of their respective cells.

Regarding the six cells of La Riviere des Galets and the two from Pichette, they renewed their cards on Friday 16 January in downtown Possession.

Reports on organization and on the political situation were presented by Gerard Riviere and Roland Robert.

Dates were scheduled for the bus outings on Sunday 1 and 8 February to Plaine des Cafres.

As for the La Ravine a Malheur cell, which was the first to meet at the branch level, it has won its wager. It had pledged during an outing to Plaine des Cafres on Sunday 18 January to double its membership, bringing it to 60. This is now an accomplished fact, since last Sunday the comrades from La Ravine a Malheur had the opportunity to make this point at Plaine des Cafres.

The Roger Julenon cell downtown was also present, and the 110 comrades present listened attentively to the political report presented by comrade Gerard Riviere. As of yesterday only the downtown cells still had to renew their cards. They did it on Tuesday 20 January at 1730 hours.

Involved were the following cells:

- -- Leon de Lepervanche from La Ravine a Marquet;
- -- Gabriel Juvenal from La Ravine des Lataniers:
- -- Maurice Thorez;
- -- Paul Eluard:
- -- Raymond Verges from Jacques Duclos city;
- -- Roger Julenon and Luciano Fontaine from downtown;
- -- Raymond Mondon;
- -- Raymond Balmann;
- --Antonin Lambes'
- -- Roland Jamin from Camp Maloire.

Meetings are programmed for each sector in accordance with a trimestral calendar. It can no longer be doubted: the PCR has a wide audience among the workers, when they can choose in complete freedom and with no threat of reprisals, which is the case in La Possession.

Activity in Le Port

Saint Denis TEMOIGNAGES in French 2 Feb 81 p 7

[Excerpts] Like many other sections, the Le Port branch of the Reunion Communist Party [PCR] has entered into a period of intense activity. The goal of militant labor is well known to all: to strengthen the party, gather new recruits, and create new cells where none has existed before.

One example: La Riviere des Galets.

In that village, where the tradition of struggle has always been a lively one, our party owes it to itself to try ceaselessly to better establish itself among the people. This has been going on systematically now for two or three weeks.

Two cells renewed the card in an atmosphere quite remarkable for its confidence and solidarity. One of them just plain and simply doubled its membership! The other, despite the driving rain of Thursday evening, brought some 15 men and women into the party for the first time.

it must be said that in the canvassing which precedes these meetings the welcome given to the militants has been very encouraging. Everywhere the general feeling is definitely that things cannot continue as they are, either politically (Giscard, Barre, Dijoud...the people are tired of them), or economically (the people aspire to work toward the development of their country), or socially (penury, which is whitewashed by relief aid, is intolerable).

Two other quarter meetings took place to establish new cells. Thus on Thursday evening at the home of Mrs Ponty attendance was considerable, in answer to the invitation extended by the comrades of the quarter in the previous night's canvassing. These men and women, victims of the worsening crisis, applauded the analysis of the party presented by Jean-Yves Langenier.

The positive result of this meeting: the birth of a new cell of 25 members. The movement will not stop there.

Membership Campaign in Full Swing

Saint Denis TEMOIGNAGES in French 3 Feb 81 p 16

[Text] One of the points on the agenda of the central committee meeting held last Sunday was an examination of the status of the membership campaign, which is going full swing throughout the country in hopes of reaching a minimum goal of 10,000 PCR members by the date of the Special Conference scheduled for 29 March.

The activities of many comrades have shown that there is a very big possibility of surpassing that objective.

In fact, after three weeks of the PCR membership drive, 4,200 men and women have already taken out their party card for 1981.

This result, as the central committee noted in its statement that was made public yesterday, is remarkable.

Bit it is fitting to stress the unevenness in the results obtained branch by branch. From this point of view, three branch categories must be distinguished: --first those that have already quite substantially surpassed the objectives set for the end of January: Le Port, La Possession, St-Paul, St-Louis, La Riviere, St-Joseph and Ste-Suzanne.

--next those that have obtained results close to the objective: St-Pierre, Tempon, St-Andre and St-Leu-Avirons...

--finally, those that are still well below their objectives. Among those branches, some called together their leadership to get their bearings in early February and thus have not been able to submit the final membership figures. This is the case for Saint-Denis, Saint-Benoit, Entre-Deux, Sainte-Rose, and Sainte-Marie.

It is obvious that the month of February should be put to good use to gain the greatest possible number of memberships in these branches. They are pledged to inform TEMOIGNAGES of the results of their various meetings.

Confidence

On what arguments does the central committee base its affirmation of confidence that the goal of 10,000 members will be surpassed?

First of all, on the fact that more than half the cells have not yet met; next, on the fact that the membership rate is running ahead of the usual rate for cell meetings; finally, several branches have announced they were going to establish additional cells.

But these positive aspects should not lead the comrades to sleep on their laurels. That would be a serious mistake. Throughout the country, thousands of men and women are waiting ready to join the Communist Party, in which they have confidence. It is for us to meet them and bring them in.

9516

HIGH RATE OF UNEMPLOYMENT LAMENTED

Saint Denis TEMOIGNAGES in French 28 Jan 81 p 16

[Editorial by Ary Yee Shong Chi Kan: "The Oath"]

[Text] The series of THMOIGNAGES articles that analyzed the statistics published by the INSEE [National Institute of Statistics and Economic Research] of Reunion on unemployment in November 1978 was concluded yesterday. Meanwhile, an important report has brought us to the sad reality of Petit Paris, Balance, Pointe du Diable.

Only the day before yesterday, two pages were devoted to the difficulties encountered by Reunion nationals living in France.

This very day, several young people are speaking up in their publications.

What can we glean from all these pages of writing and charts? One fundamental and persistent fact about our situation: Our young people are experiencing very serious difficulties and their future is at present stymied.

The INSEE survey is clear on this issue. Young people are more hardly hit by underemployment and unemployment: Two out of every three young people between the ages of 15 and 19 belonging to the active population are unemployed. For young women the situation is worse: four out of five! Furthermore, one young woman out of every five between the ages of 20 and 29 has yet to find her first job.

At the age of 29, thousands of young people of Reunion have never had a job, a wage. We can readily imagine the consequences of such a situation for them.

Moreover, 10,000 college graduates were unemployed in 1978. This raises the question, in all its aspects, of the exact value of a college degree and the role played by the schools.

These facts are damning as far as the government is concerned. We can no longer remain blind, nor worse yet serve as accomplices to the destruction of our young people. This reality calls on us to account for our actions. The INSEE figures are corroborated by what has really happened to the young people of Reunion. It is enough for us to reread the reports on Petit Paris, on the emigration and the struggles of our young people to realize this.

At Petit Paris children and young people go through the "garbage dum, "" to "live." If adults retrieve something from the public dumps, it too is above all to keep their children from dying of hunger!

What shall we think of the child who says "this morning I picked three hens" out of the garbage pails?

How can we remain insensitive to that woman sitting on an old wreck of a car waiting for the next garbage truck to arrive? We can no longer shut our eyes to this!

One hope springs eternal from the hearts of those young people from Reunion who have emigrated to France: to return to their country as soon as possible. And they cry out to all those who are still here: "Stay in Reunion!" Reality is harsh for our fellow countrymen. Emigration is being more and more condemned.

Young people speak up and empty their hearts in the pages of their publications. This very day, a reader has denounced the exploitation of child labor while another one is worried about her future... and she is at the head of her class!

In the face of such waste, the responsibility of every citizen of Reunion, individually and collectively viewed, is committed. If we love our country and our people, we must save our young people, the guarantors of our economy, our culture and our society. And from this point of view, it is interesting to note how all of us are attacking the problem.

After trying everything: emigration, assistance, family planning, etc., the right has set up an incredible system of diversion and brainwaching. They would have young people beli e that they are happy as long as they are playing soccer, watching television, listening to music, etc. They try to get the young people to forget their own problems. FR3 [expansion unknown] gets them interested in subjects very far from their concerns. They play on the naivete of young people, but sooner or later they will awaken to the truth because the young people will see that they have been decieved. The goal of the rightists is to chloroform our youths and put them to sleep. They think their privileges are secure.

Only our country's progressive forces have opened themselves to transform this destructive colonial society and to give our youth all its due, its full scope and its hope.

It is no accident that the PCR daily TEMOIGNAGES is the only newspaper to daily raise the real problems and enlighten the people. The importance assigned young people and their problems is considerable. No diversion where they are concerned!

The PCR is the only political organization to present a coherent and realistic political plan likely to mobilize the mass of young people in order to save Reunion's economy, the pledge of their future.

Alongside the PCk, the FJAR (Autonomist Youth Front of Reunion) has rallied thousands of young people, raises real problems and leads people to think about solutions for the future. It has committed its existence to the struggle for autonomy. Its members have two an each to liberate Reunion.

That oath will be carried out!

11,466

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PRESENT DEVELOPMENT OF SOLAR ENERGY, FUTURE PROGRAMS NOTED

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 27,28,29 Jan 81

[Article by Aliou Barry: "Solar Energy, Always Available"]

[27 Jan 81 p 3]

[Excerpt] Senegal's Advantages

With more than 20 solar water pumps installed or in the course of installation, several generators for the production of electricity or for irrigation under construction, all of it representing an investment of about CFA F 5 billion*, Senegal is on the way to being the pioneer of solar energy in black Africa. There is therefore nothing surprising in the fact that our country is the first to develop a prototype station for pumping water, driven by solar energy. We recall that this prototype was constructed in 1968 by the team led by Professor Masson at the Institute of Metereological Physics (IPM) at the University of Dakar.

This means that Senegal did not wait for the tragic oil crisis of 1973 to seek to promote new energy forms in general and solar energy in particular. There were several reasons for that. The human resources exist, even if they are not in balance with the financial resources, which are limited. Within the university, the IPM in Dakar, which last year was the Center for Study and Research on Renewable Energy (CERER), has a solid, multidisciplinary team with a clear technological advantage since the arrival of Professor Masson. On this subject its budget has increased by ten times in the last five years. This should be emphasized since research is a forgotten sector in many African countries. The center, which has become an institute of the university, where eight engineers and researchers (three of them expatriates), seven technicians and three laboratory assistants are presently working, has caught its second wind, thanks to the praiseworthy effort of the government and the dynamism of its new leadership and personnel.

^{*}The figure of 5 billion is an estimate, because in view of the number of projects and the fact that several centers or institutes are concerned with solar energy, it would be very difficult to set out the exact amount of money devoted to this sector.

Regarding the semiconductor laboratory at the Faculty of Science of the University of Dakar, which is very well equipped, it is more particularly interested in solar energy production through the construction of photocells. The researchers do not despair of one day mastering this advanced technology, an area reserved at the moment to some of the advanced countries. The Higher National School of Technology (the former IUT) is actively carrying on studies and research on the same subject, even though it is also interested in wind energy.

Favorable Level

Studies on housing in connection with the use of solar energy are actively being carried out there, as well as studies on the "characteristics of the energy market in Senegal and to define the potential market in terms of apparatus functioning on the basis of solar energy." At the polytechnic school of Thies, in addition to wind energy, they are interested in solar ovens, prototypes of which have existed for several years.

To these evident advantages may be added an amount of sunlight which is more than satisfactory. In effect, Senegal appears on the map of solar radiation between the levels of 600 and 700 watts per square meter. The duration of sunlight is about 300 hours per year. This is why the country is regarded as in a favorable position compared with Niger and Upper Volta, which are in a very favorable zone, and with the Ivory Coast and Cameroon, which are in an unfavorable zone. However, it must be noted that our country does not have the same amount of sumlight everywhere. The measurements which have been made most often concern the peninsula of Cap Vert which, with its micro-climate, is less favored than the rest of the nation.

Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that measurements of solar rediation so far made are not completely up to date, at least for now. The seminar at the UPDEA [the Union of Producers and Distributors of Electricity in Africa) meeting on solar energy, recently held in bakar, calls on members to bring their solar measurements up to date. Senegal, through its research centers and in collaboration with the national meteorological service, has already understood the need for knowledge of solar resources. Thus, for the last two years the CERER has been studying the possibility of developing a network of stations for the measuring the solar radiation potential over the whole Senegalese territory. Financing for this program (CFA F20 million) has been provided by the Secretariat of State for Scientific and Technical Research. It is hoped that work on the network will begin shortly, because a part of the material needed has already been delivered. The creation of this network will make it possible to put all the data needed for a correct evaluation of our solar potential at the disposition of users. This will make it possible to choose the sites well, in order to avoid inconveniences after installing a solar pump or a station for the producing electricity.

Without the establishment of the Secretariat of State for Scientific and Technical Research, which coordinates all these activities, Senegal would certainly not have achieved the expected results. The control which the secretariat exercises over the whole solar installation makes it possible to avoid dispersion of efforts and anarchy in this sector. That is to say that without the political will of the authorities the efforts of the researchers and technicians would never have been rewarded.

Appropriate Choices

The objectives of the government in the renewable energy domain and more particularly in the domain of solar energy are quite clear over the next few years. They will

involve preparing a balance sheet of all the experiments, research programs, and development activity already undertaken in Senegal. In this balance sheet the percentage of success of each program (thermodynamic and photovoltaic) will be evaluated, and consideration will be given to improving the human, material, and structural conditions necessary to make possible the technological choices most appropriate for Senegal.

As in the past the research and development programs will be directed toward applications of priority interest. The problem of water is the major concern of the rural population, which makes up the great majority of Senegalese. Quite naturally, pumping water has been the primary area of application for solar energy. This orientation will be continued as long as Senegal continues to suffer from an infernal cycle of drought, which threatens the rural people and livestock. However, water flows abundantly a few dozen meters under the feet of the rural people. For most of them it is inaccessible. On the other hand sunlight is always available. In the absence of water, which is a synonym for the desert and death, will this sunlight henceforth be their ally? In any case an immense hope has arisen for the use of solar energy in pumping water. For once, will luck smile on the poorest people? Will water flow once again in our countryside, bringing improvements to the health of men and livestock and ensuring agricultural development, the first stages in the economic and cultural development of the people of the Sahel?

There is no water shortage. It is necessary to go and look for it. All studies have shown that the water reserves in underground layers are immense throughout the country. It is a matter of acting quickly to make our countryside green and to stop deforestation. It is well known that trees hold water in the sub-soil. If we cut the trees, the water drains away and evaporates instead of accumulating in the underground reserves. Sunlight is certainly the resource best adapted to help us avoid drought. However, solar energy is expensive at the present time.

[28 Jan 81 p 3]

[Excerpt] The Choice of Systems, a False Debate

After having described Senegal's advantages in terms of molar energy advantages which are far from small, we discuss today the causes which have made most countries interested in this energy source.

In effect, since the 1973 oil crisis a veritable race against the clock has begun to reduce the cost of energy, which remains very high, at least for the moment.

The 1973 oil crisis left fear in the hearts of all people. Africans, Europeans, and Asians know today that their daily comfort and upgrading their standard of living depend on energy which they do not always produce. Each one knows that his oil, his gas will become more and more expensive. This concern has been aggravated by the more and more persistent statements concerning a rapid exhaustion of the world's fossil energy reserves. This general concern has favored almost everywhere more active research to find a substitute energy source, and solar energy in particular.

However, research on solar energy did not begin recently. By 1775 a solar furnace had already been developed. In 1885 Michaud's solar pump saw the light of day. A rotary printing press functioned by means of solar energy in 1912. All of these discoveries were forgotten because they could not compete with classic sources of energy (wood, coal, oil). However, that does not explain everything. The difficulty

with sunlight is that it is not easily controlled. In any case, its control nevertheless has many advantages, because, contrary to other sources of energy, sunlight is almost inexhaustible, it is free, simple to use and, according to the expression of a Senegalesc professor, democratic. That is to say, it is at the disposition of everyone. Further, solar energy is not a strategic material. That is to say, its total control would constitute the greatest revolution since the steam engine. It required nothing more than physicists, chemists, and other researchers would mobilizing to learn the secret of solar energy. A true race against the clock began, with Senegal joining in. This is the only sector of activity where the Third World could catch up with the advanced countries. Unfortunately for this Third World there are only a few nations, such as ours, which have appreciated the importance of the matter. Horizontal collaboration in the battle to control solar energy is more than necessary in order to avoid coming once again under the control of West or East. Already in the West agreements have been made between companies concerned with solar energy, between Thespsen and Solar Power, between Leroy-Somer and Solarex. The Japanese, who up to recently have been slow to start, are now in the battle. In America considerable sums of money have been devoted to solar energy.

Manufacturers of thermal receiver and photovoltaic cell pinels, Westerners in particular, have been working all-out to reduce the costs, which remain the greatest handicap for solar energy development. The manufacturers of pactoveltate cells ammeunce with considerable assurance the appearance of new technologies which will lead, by the year 2000, to a price of CFA F2 per watt of solar power. No one at present can confirm these statements and for good reasons. In any case the prices continue to decline for these two solar systems. Some state that the photovoltaic path, for the installations of small countries, is the most promising for the years to come. It is true that the prices of solar cells are falling regularly and are already competitive in terms of small electric generators. In the latest issue of COURANTS, the publication of SENELLC [Senegalese Company for the Distribution of Electricity], Marc Chabreuil writes, 'About four years ago a peak watt cost F150. Now it costs no more than about F40." It is estimated that it will cost less than F 10 in five years, he continues. The author hastens to add, "in fact, prices in effect today are below the cost price. This is because to get started in the few existing markets, the companies are constrained to carry on a policy of dumping, which falsifies the facts."

As far as the thermodynamic system is concerned, some 36 manufacturers share the market. Because it is older, this system is better known, and its technology is within the reach of countries even like Senegal. Because the materials used are more conventional, the appearance of a new technology in this sector is not expected soon, which would lower prices significantly. However, in the present state of knowledge, this system is better suited for medium-sized countries. This is to say that we are far from being forced to choose between one or the other system. The seminar of the UPDEA on solar energy, held recently in our capital, appraised the dilemma, expressing the view that the choice of one or the other system is a false debate. In their conclusions the African participants stated that the important question is the judicious use of one or the other technology to satisfy the continent's energy needs under optimum conditions. In effect, solar technology is developing so quickly that it would be hazardous to make a choice. The important consideration for us Senegalese is to work on the two systems in order not to be overtaken. The seminar

in Dakar on solar energy considered that possibilities exist for Africans themselves to provide for installing systems and manufacturing part of the necessary equipment. Senegal has already gone into this second phase. We speak of it below.

[29 Jan 81 p 2]

[Excerpt] Toward Industrialization

The last part of the report is devoted to the experience of the Solar Energy Applications Company (SINAES). This company, in which the state now holds the majority of shares will undertake construction of a factory at Thies for producing water heaters, windmills and accessories for solar energy stations. Constructing the shops and equipping them will require an investment of CFA F 250 million.

In August 1976 the SINAES was established. First of its kind in black Africa, SINAES was established to give priority to meeting the needs of the local market for solar equipment and installations. Its establishment fitted in perfectly with the government's wish to promote a dynamic policy in the field of solar energy by introducing industrial applications which have been developed here or elsewhere. The creation of the company was therefore the coherent extension of the efforts undertaken by the authorities and institutes, of which it is, in fact, the logical conclusion.

The project found resolute support from foreign technical partners who intended in that way to play their role in the transfer of technology. In its wish to master this sector of activity the Senegalese government, in agreement with its foreign partners, decided last year to increase its participation in the company, which then went from 30 percent to 50 percent of the shares. The initial capital, which amounted to CFA F100 million, was almost doubled at the same time to total CFA F190 million. With this increase in capital and foreign financing the company was able to propare a plan for financing its industrial phase. Thus, CFA F250 million have been earmarked for the construction of a plant at Thies. The financial participation of the Central Fund for Cooperation of the European Investment Bank and its own funds made it possible for SINAES to envisage the construction of individual or larger-scale solar water heaters, water pumps, and windmills, as well as the assembly of accessories for solar stations. The factory will employ 80 people. Toure, director general of SINAES, nevertheless told us that everything will be done in stages, without haste. To achieve these objectives SINAES has signed agreements with local or foreign institutes for the problem of patent rights. However, it must be emphasized that local technology will remain privileged. It is known, in this regard, that the technology of CERER is competitive with regard to water heaters, dryers, etc. Further, for the last two years CERER has been working on the problem of thermal storage for solar pumps. That will make it possible to have energy on sunless days. This is to say that in terms of water heaters and windmills up to 100 percent of the necessary technology could come from local sources. Regarding solar pumps and other equipment, Toure considers that the technology transfer could eventually amount to 80 percent. This is appreciable when one knows, for example, that as far as conventional electric equipment is concerned, there is practically no technology transfer.

The director general of SINAES hopes that work on his factory will begin before the end of 1981. Only a few administrative obstacles, happily being resolved, delay beginning the work. Nevertheless, the problems will not be resolved that way. The

problems are due essentially to the new ess of the company's activities. In effect the solar market does not exist for the moment. It is necessary to develop it and show the people its advantages.

This is no small matter. Those who have the means could order small installations, because for the moment the bulk of them are financed either by the state or by international organizations.

In addition to these problems the long-term training of SINAES personnel is expensive. State support will consequently be necessary. The state must also make dispositions to accelerate administrative procedures in order not to discourage foreign partners.

While waiting for the construction of its shops and equipment, the installation of solar stations and windmills remains the principal activity of SINAES. It has already arranged for the installation of several pumps and windmills. The advantage in this is that substantial foreign exchange remains in Senegal--about 60 percent of the added value.

However, although up to now the thermodynamic or photovoltaic stations installed in the country are exclusively used for pumping water, SINAES, in collaboration with its technical partners, is in the course of installing the first solar station for producing electricity at Diakhao. This SENELEC project, which will require an investment of CFA F375 million, has attracted attention for its capacity of 221 kwh per day and because it is a test station. It will provide electricity to Diakhao, which has 2,000 inhabitants. The village is presently provided with water from a well equipped with a diesel motor, which will be replaced by an electric motor operating on solar energy. After the installation of the solar station, due to be completed in March, a comparison will be made with the electrical system which existed. A certain number of SENELEC engineers and commercial agents will be there to follow up on the experiment. If the experiment is conclusive, a way will therefore be opened for rural electrification which has been too expensive up to now.

The other important project is the installation of a 30 kw pumping station at Bakel for irrigation purposes. Built by the consortium of SOFRETES-SINALS-Thermoelectron, it will cost CFA F300 million, and its entry into service is scheduled for the end of the year.

After pumping water and electrification, the matter of cooling is now interesting Senegal. Thus a financial package of CFA F110 million has been assembled for pumping and refrigeration at Coubanao in Casamance. Refrigeration is an area in which solar energy could be particularly useful, notably for preserving fish and air conditioning.

With the construction of the SINAES factory solar energy will enter into its industrial phase and therefore reduce oil product imports. However, one must not be deluded. For a long time we will still be dependent on conventional energy. The specialists estimate that at best solar energy will provide less than five percent of the energy consumed in Senegal in the year 2000. However, this percentage should not discourage us. On the contrary, with the increasing number of solar pumps to pump water in our countryside, to provide water for people and livestock, as well as for irrigation, progress will be made. What is encouraging in the area of solar energy is the fact that the will to take action is not lacking, despite the modesty of the means available. That should comfort researchers and users, who will spare no effort to overcome the energy challenge in our country.

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PRESIDENT BARRE ON INDIAN OCEAN STATUS, OGADEN CONFLICT

Paris STRATEGIE AFRIQUE/MOYEN-ORIENT in French Oct-Nov-Dec 80 pp 18-21

[Exclusive interview with General Mohamed Siad Barre, president of the Semali Democratic Republic, by Nicolas Martin: "Against Escalation in the Horn of Africa"]

[Text] [Question] Do the refugees from the Ogaden form an attack base for liberating their territory? How are you helping them? Are other countries making a contribution?

[Answer] Our assistance is very limited. It is for the most part of a diplomatic and political nature and is based on moral obligations as well as on the conviction that any people should enjoy their freedom and their rights. Having said that, we do not have a lot to give. We do not produce arms, and our financial capabilities are very limited. We limit ourselves to receiving refugees, wounded and dead. However the question is much deeper than merely a refugee problem. We are talking about a classic colonial problem. Ethiopia is well known as an empire. That term itself has a colonialist meaning. Ethiopia is a great colonizer, and naturally we see it from that point of view. Consequently we are taking action to assist the peoples struggling for their freedom.

[Question] Do you think the situation of the refugees from the Ogaden can trigger a problem similar to that of the Palestinians?

[Answer] That depends on how the problem, which is undeniably a colonial one, is looked at. It all depends on how aware world public opinion is of the problem and its seriousness. Israel did not formerly exist in the region. It occupies territories just as Ethiopia does, but the latter has been present in the region from time immemorial and it has always acted like a colonial power.

I will say that the problem as a colonial problem, could be handled as has been done everywhere in the world; in this case the solution would be of a political nature and would involve Ethiopia as the colonial power and Western Somalia and its liberation movement as the colonized people. Once the problem was settled, friendship could be built up between the colonizer and its former colony. Former French Somaliland could serve as an example. This former colony is now liberated and maintains privileged relations with France. Looking at the problem this way could avoid our seeing warfare settle in for years.

[Question] In this context, how can you safeguard your own security?

[Answer] Naturally any country in trouble has a fundamental interest in its defense. However, in reality this question of security goes beyond the framework of Ethiopia and Somalia. There is a problem here which goes beyond African borders. With the means at our disposal, so far we still have been able to halt the invasion of Ethiopia and of those acting on its behalf. This is in spite of the fact that we have been receiving little in the way of arms, while Ethiopia is now equipped with the most sophisticated equipment, in quantities, moreover, that go beyond its own defense needs. So overall there is a great imbalance in this area.

[Question] Have you concluded defense agreements to replace the agreement which linked you to the USSR?

[Answer] Up to now, no.

[Question] What are your plans concerning the Berbera base?

[Answer] Negotiations with the United States are being pursued.

[Question] Do you think there is a chance of ending up with an agreement which would insure your security?

[Answer] That depends on the attitude of the United States. They have asked us for facilities and we have agreed to that in principle. Now it is all up to their attitude and what they want.

[Question] What is your standpoint on the growing number of naval warships cruising in the Indian Ocean?

[Answer] Our viewpoint regarding the Indian Ocean has favored the principle of a sea of peace and not of confrontation. But that does not mean that we would accept a superpower's stranglehold over that ocean. The activity of one superpower in itself justifies activity on the part of the other. And I can say that all the littoral countries have the same concept of peace and freedom of maritime routes.

[Question] Meanwhile, the United States and the Soviet Union have the use of large facilities in the countries of that region such as Somalia. How can you have this ideal of peace while military forces are constantly on the increase?

[Answer] You are right, but how is it to be avoided? There are a number of bases in the region, and one base for one great power leads to a competing one for the other great power. This leads to the fact that nowadays one sees a naval concentration in the region. Limiting them depends on the wisdom of the great powers, who must consider the suggestions of the littoral states and withdraw their forces little by little. You cannot ask just one great power to withdraw or even to keep the number of its ships constant while the other is in the process of building up its strength.

[Question] In the area of Somali domestic policy, how would you describe the army's role?

[Answer] Our army emanates from the people, from the masses, and it has always served the interests of those very masses from which it has never been detached.

The role of our army is not solely to defend the country's sovereignty and the integrity of its territory but also to contribute to the construction and to the different levels of development tasks, whether in the political, economic or social area.

[Question] Do you think that the political mission of your army is a lasting one or will it be confined to a limited and temporary period in your development?

[Answer] I cannot foresee what is in the future, but for the moment I see no reason to change our stand. Besides their military obligations, those in the army are called on to participate in political tasks. A large number of military men sit in parliament and serve in the party. They participate in debates and discussions and therefore are up to date on the country's economic and financial situation. In our system there are rank-and-file committees at all levels, in every locality and village. Those who serve in our parliament come from all circles, including military ones. Once the discussions have ended, our military men return to their barracks, as do the workers to their factories or the farmers to their fields, and they inform their colleagues about what happened and what decisions were made. So our military men are not cut off from the political reality of the country. They are directly involved in it; they play a governing role.

[Question] How do you see the nationality problem of the Somali peoples?

[Answer] This matter has always gotten distorted and been hadly presented abroad, Somalis make up a single nation. They have the same origins, the same language, the same religion, the same traditions, etc. Whether united or divided, Somalis make up a grouping, a concrete and specific entity. The divisions that arise are only of a political nature. Unification will be possible if the will of the Small people requires it. Inification cannot be an act of governments if this will is not there. For example, the northern and southern parts of the Somali Democratic Republic were occupied by two different colonial powers. They succeeded in uniting thanks to the will and aspirations of the people. On the other hand, the Somalis in the Republic of Djibouti have chosen to remain separate. That is a choice which the Somuli Democratic Republic respects. Moreover we were the first to send on ampassador to the Republic of Djibouti. Cooperation between our two countries is very fruitful now. As for the remainder of the Somali people, they are still struggling for their independence. The Somali Depocratic Republic recognizes that people as an anticulanial force. Once independence has been gained it will be up to them alone to choose and decide on their policy.

[Ouestion] Then was do you feel about the principle advocated by the OAL of the inviolability of borders inherited from the colonial period?

[Answer] I believe there is a certain amount of confusion about this matter and, in any case, about Ethiopia. Ethiopia was a conquering empire just like the European empires. It occupied Western Somalia and forced its opponents to withdraw in order to take their place. Now it is time for that empire to disappear as such and to open the door to independence for its colonies. We agree with the OAU principles on the condition that the Ethiopian empire is not defined within its current borders as an inheritance from colonial times.

[Question] Do you think that in the near future the influence of the imperialist systems can end up in a more serious conflict between Somalis and Ethipoians? Is the problem linked with the Near East conflict?

[Answer] What a pity it is that Ethiopia and Somalia cannot manage to resolve their problems between themselves! What an insult that is to our intelligence and to our sense of responsibility toward our peoples! But one thing is certain: we have been supplied the means and motives to fight and kill each other. I wonder in whose interest these confrontations develop if not in the interest of the great powers.

Frankly, if my friend Mengistu wanted to talk to me about these problems, I would be happy to, not because I am weak or because I am afraid of him, but with the goal of being realistic and honest toward our peoples. I am ready to discuss all our problems, those between Ethiopia and the Movement for the Liberation of Western Somalia, or even regarding those who oppose Ethiopia in Eritrea. Prolonging discord and hate does not serve the interest of either of us.

[Question] What is your point of view regarding the plan for a Euro-Arab-African "trialog?"

[Answer] for historical and geographical as well as cultural reasons, it is in the interest of the parties of that triangle to see dialog established. There has already been an Arab-African summit and I hope to see a Euro-Arab-African summit organized during which discussions will be held about what path to choose for cooperation which would serve the interests of the three parties.

[Question] Cooperation in what area?

[Answer] First of an economic nature, then cultural, and finally political. That depends on the degree of understanding and agreement among the different partners. The three parties are geographically very close to each other. Also, their undeveloped capabilities are complementary. Technology brought together with raw materials and money can create a great world upheaval in the direction of progress and development. I believe that once all prejudices have been gotten over, the goal would be easy to attain. This would be a fine example for the rest of the world. When all is said and done, the ultimate goal is to see the world family working in close collaboration for the good and prosperity of everyone.

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COMMENTATOR REVIEWS OGADEN FORCES, FOREIGN RELATIONS

Paris STRATEGIE AFRIQUE/MOYEN-ORIENT in French Oct-Nov-Dec 80 pp 25-28

[Article by Nicolas Martin: "The Ogaden: Live Coals Under the Ashes"]

[Excerpt] The offices of the Western Somalia Liberation Front (WSLF) are located in Mogadiscio in an ancient building that looks peaceful. As far as the front's vice president, Sheikh Abdulnaziz Adam, is concerned, the situation is serious, since Ethiopian forces are trying to wipe out the Somali peoples in the Ogaden pure and simple. The fact that the number of refugees from that region is officially 1.5 million while the population of the Ogaden is 2 million lends some credibility to the genocide argument. In the military area, WSLF forces use little sophisticated equipment and are content to harass military convoys. In the current state of affairs it does not seem that the Mogadiscio government has encouraged the organization of more extensive forces based in Somalia. It is not playing an offensive hand because it has serious supply and logistical problems itself.

On the other hand, in the area of international relations the WSLF seems to be more active. At one time it was verbally supported by the Russians and Cubans and financially supported by the Libyans; now it has established friendly relations with all the Arab countries except for South Yemen and Libya, but including the PLO. Finally, the WSLF secretary general spent some time in Cairo last summer to work out a more systematic assistance plan and the possible establishment of a government according to the POLISARIO example.

Asked about their estimate of the situation in the field, the officers from the front put Ethiopian troops in the Ogaden at 40,000, to which must be added 17,000-20,000 Cubans (one reneral among them), 4,000-5,000 soldiers from Warsaw Pact Forces-East Germans, Czechs and Bulgarians--and 3,000-4,000 Soviet noncombatant experts, including one general who is said to operate as commander-in-chief of planning. On the equipment level, they have a large number of T-25 and T-62 tanks, some Mig-8 helicopters, and some Mig-21 bombers. These forces have two air bases, at Diredawa and Jijiga (opposite the northern border on a line from Hargeisa), one air base at Gody (on the Chavele opposite the border on a line from Mogadiscio) at their disposal. This last base was built for the Federal Republic of Germany in the time of Haile Selassie and taken over by the Russians (in short, Berbera in reverse). Finally, they have five bases for ground forces, at Jijiga and Gody once again, and at Dagahbur, Wardere and Gabridarre. As for President Siad Barre, he estimates Ethiopian forces at six divisions (one mechanized) permanently grouped in the north of the Ogaden.

Obviously in the case of more active combat, the ultimate defense burden would rest on the regular Somali Army. It is fairly difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of those forces at the present time. In 1977 they performed splendidly and dominated the Ethiopian forces. But since that time the latter have recovered, they have been strengthened thanks to Soviet technical assistance, and also they have the assistance of Soviet-Cuban allied forces at their disposal. On the other hand, the Somali forces are now paying for their complete dependence on Russian equipment and do not have back-up support for it. So there is no doubt that the balance of forces is now reversed, which is why Mogadiscio has a vital interest in getting an American guarantee at Berbera.

Somali staff headquarters of course answers that in the event of sudden Ethiopian aggression the defense plan will move into action and its effectiveness will depend on the forces the Somalis are convinced they can stop any attack dead. But according to them an attack would only be forthcoming with the support of Warsaw Pact forces. And in that situation the outcome of the battle becomes more uncertain. The aggressor would find himself facing, in concrete terms, armed forces whose troop numbers are held secret and whose equipment, deprived of spare parts, would undoubtedly be operating at only 30-30 percent by cannibalizing machinery. In addition he would be up against a decentralized "people's deterrent" plan, or, in other words, a trained resistance. Each district and region has established an alert system and state of emergency plans. The people are organized with a view to immediate distribution of defense products under the military leadership of prefects and subprefects. This plan for mobilizing the people comes under the authority of the High Command for Mobilization which is under the Ministry of Defense. The time it takes to get operationally set up is one week. The staff headquarters, apparently quite aware of the urgency of the situation, is now, thanks to two academies located in Mogadiscio (a school for general training and a staff school), training cadres. air force and navy cadres are being trained abroad. For the moment no military agreement has replaced the Somali-Soviet treaty. Specific agreements with Egypt, however, are operative. In the months to come that country should be increasing its assistance aimed at maintenance of Russian equipment as fast as its own equipment is replaced by American equipment being delivered following the Camp David accords.

Reversing Alliances To Maintain Independence

The experience of Somalia since 1977 is very characteristic of "how hard it is to be" among the new states searching for their identity, heading for development and also concerned about being nonalized. That is often an ideal and inapplicable plan. Nowadays Somalia feels that way and not without bitterness. The image of its system that it often projects, opportunistic and quick to change its colors, is the largely unjustified result of all of this. A well-known Somali told me emotionally, "We are in the middle of a minul bargaining for position between foreign powers. The problem for us is not choosing between independence and alimment, but rather figuring out which sauce we would prefer to be eaten with. And, as long as we are the object of this hateful bargaining, perhaps we are better off selling ourselves than being sold by others." Somalia's political situation is serious. This country is not critical for anyone—it has neither oil nor wealth—and, on the contrary, it is a burden (military vulnerability, difficult economic situation, refugee camps). But it rounds off regional strategic plans in such a way that it can no longer be a "no-man's land" in East-West competition.

Nevertheless, this country is trying to get off the Moscow-Washington pendulum and diversify its alliances. Nothing more remains from its traditional alliances, from the time of its belonging to the socialist camp, except some personal ties with some government officials in progressive African states. The Arab world is in general sympathetic except for Algeria and Libya, which criticize Somalia for its ties with Egypt. Morocco is far away and Mogadiscio was one of the first to recognize the POLISARIO. Relations are particularly close with Saudi Arabia, which is worried about a "pro-Soviet federation" on the other side of the Red Sea, and with the Emirates. Besides, these countries are Somalia's top export customers along with Iraq, which has set up an "Iraq Trade Center" in Somalia which prospects for uranium.

Relations with Europe were poor: they were contentious with England, which was responsible for the breakup of the Somali nation, and dealings with the old Italian colonial power were disappointing. Today the situation has changed fundamentally, particularly with France. Although Somalia does not belong to the francophone family of nations, President Siad Barre came to attend the French-African summit in person last June in Nice. He wants to strengthen ties in the military area to create a system consistent with the French plan in Djibouti. However, there is no doubt that the attitude of France and Europe, which have no political or military means at their disposal, does not mislead a partner who would have preferred to stay outside the blocs rather than directly enter into the American fold.

So everything will depend on the American attitude and also perhaps on the Chinese if Peking--which maintains excellent relations with Mogadiscio--decides to play an African card again. In that case this would be fitted to American strategy. Would Somalia then perhaps find a more solid guarantee for its independence in the framework of a Peking-Baghdad-Washington axis?

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BRILLS

ARMS NEGOTIATIONS WITH FRANCE -- Somali sources reveal that sizable contracts are currently being negetiated with France. These sources say that the size of the contracts will depend on how financing problems are solved, but no political difficulty between Parts and Mogadiscio has apparently shown up. Contacts and negotiations of principle were started several months ago, and in that context the two parties were counting on grant assistance from Saudi Arabia. Somalia does not seem to have gotten what It wanted and has not been able to finalize a major acquisition in the military area. Negotiations with France this time seem much more advanced, since there is talk about helicopters, Transall, and light tanks in particular. It is said that this progress is linked to the political development in relations between Paris and Mogadiscio and to the support which Somalia would be prepared to lend to French policy on the continent. It is neteworthy that the Italians, who last year sold several aircraft to the Somali Air Force, are very interested in this market and want to expand their involvement in it. First in particular, after having sold sizable quantities of service vehicles, is now intensifying its commercial efforts and might negotiate a sale of light tanks. [Text] [Paris STRATEGIE AFRIQUE/MOYEN-ORIENT in French Oct-Nov-Dec 80 p 63] 9631

LEADERSHIP COMMITTEE MEETS WITH LABOR UNIONS

Ouagadougou L'OBSERVATEUR in French 28 Jan 81 pp 1, 6, 7

[Article: "CMRPM directing Committee Meets With Labor Unions"]

[Text] "Gentlemen.

"When he goes into combat, the combatant asks himself the following questions:

"Where am I to go?

"How do I get there?

"What places do I go through?

"When do I leave?

"However, that principle supposes on the combatant's part a perfect knowledge of the position from which he departs.

"It is for that reason that I am first of all going to give the floor to the treasurer-paymaster general."

It was in these terms that Col Save Zerbo, chief of state, President of the CML? [Military Committee of Recovery for National Progress], vesterday morning opened a meeting which the Directing Committee held with the labor unions of our rountry.

Not having been at that meeting, we shall simply communicate to our readers a few details that we have been able to gather from our colleagues of the RTV [Rhodesian Television] to when we express our thanks. On the invitation of the president of the CMPN, and Theodore Sawadogo made a long and detailed explanation of the budget ary situation of the state.

Mr Sawadogo was accompanied on this occasion by Mr Felix Ki, director of public accounting. Thus we learned that our country was experiencing a budgetary deficit of 15.9 billion francs as of 30 November 1980, or five days after the military coup d'etat of 25 November.

In fact, in its execution, the budget at that date recorded receipts on the order of 29 billion francs. In details one can gather that the 1980 budget snows total receipts estimated at 26.8 billion francs including all the provisional receipts to be added to the budget.

To the results of the 1980 budget are added the results of the prior fiscal years evaluated at 2,2 billion francs or therefore total receipts of 29 billion francs on 30 November 1980.

On the same date total outlays are estimated at 45.4 billion francs. They include commissions, provisional payments and advances to be regularized by the budget.

Mr Sawadogo specified that the state would not have been able to face up to its obligations if an appeal had not been made to the operations of the Treasury. Those operations show that on 30 November 1980 there was a balance of 22.7 billion francs. It is therefore thanks to that sum that the state has been able to cope with the severe accumulated deficit which amounts to 15.9 billion francs.

After this very revealing technical exposition Col Saye Zerbo called upon the leaders of the labor unions to be witnesses to the gravity of the situation. The chief of state appealed to the patriotism of each one and above all to the spirit of discipline and of cohesion for the happy termination of the 25 November movement. He indicated that the Army will watch over this mission so that it shall be fulfilled whatever the cost.

We present to you the declaration of the chief of state in its entirety:

Declaration of the chief of state:

"Ladies,

"Social partners,

"Gentlemen members of the Military Committee,

"Here in a few words is the most difficult national reality of this moment. It goes beyond commentaries as to the diagnoses to be made and the effective therapies which must be urgently applied.

"One of the current problems lies in the social injustices which exist here and there. In order to solve them we shall yoke ourselves to the task of eliminating them within the framework of a reform of the public function.

"All in all, we are invited to look these national realities in the face and to seek together, with calm and dignity, in other words, without any passion, the ways and means to remedy them as soon as possible. For our national survival is involved, for which all of us are resolved to give our lives and it could not be any different. Ladies, gentlemen of the labor unions, gentlemen members of the Military Committee, like every Upper Voltan patriot, we are all condemned to succeed or die and there is no third way.

"While doing that, Plato said: 'One does not dream at all of becoming a shoemaker or a sailor without having beforehand learned the secret of the job. However, everyone goes to the Assembly of the People without having learned the job of being a citizen and considers himself capable of giving an opinion on the great affairs of the state.'

"As you know, the Army has been constrained to assume its responsibilities to save the nation and the state, which a serious crisis, both political and socio-economic, risked plunging into a civil war and into bankruptcy.

"By doing that, the Army appeared thus to the most hurried person. What remains is that, aware of the historical responsibilities which are henceforth its own, the Army knows that it cannot achieve the objective of 25 November except with the pledged cooperation of all the active sectors of the nation.

"From this point of view, we think that the workers' organizations are the privileged conversation partners of the Military Rectification Committee for National Progress, for the success of the work in hand.

"This first meeting with you, labor leaders, has essentially as its goal to share with you our concept of labor organization and of the role which the unions should play, in our opinion, at this critical moment in the life of our country.

"Without bringing up again the assurance that we have given on the guarantee of union liberties, we think and we hope to convince you, that taking into account the socio-economic crisis that our country is going through, Upper Voltan unionism must, more than in the past, guide itself resolutely toward other manners of action and manners of conceiving its relationships with the government.

"In our opinion, the first role of a labor union is to help the worker to understand his rights, but also his duties with regard to the community.

"It has been said that 'war has become too serious a thing to be left only to the military profession."

"Politics has also certainly become too complex to be carried on with the simple ideology of the electoral committees. We forcefully declare that we are not political men. However, for all that, politics is defined as everything that concerns public affairs and the totality of the citizens; obligatorily, we shall make a policy; but our policy will not be either political or professional. We want a glass house, where every daughter or son who is conscious of this country will find his place. We alone decided to take action on 25 November 1980, and we hope with all our strength to carry it out successfully.

"If, as we believe, the 25 November movement was a response to the waiting attitude of the entire nation, we are certain that you labor unions are ready to consent to any sacrifices for the survival of the fatherland, for, better than others, you know the resources and the possibilities of our country.

The Military Rectification Committee for N. Ital Progress has decided, for its part, to continue the action undertaken on 25 November clear to the end no matter what it may cost. We will pay a great deal personally. We are further conscious of the fact that you are just as patriotic as any one of us soldiers. A prioritue in not call any person exclusive. We do not expect from you only a list of commissions on the first of May. To the contrary, we hope to have a frank, continued, level and constructive dialogue with you because we are convinced that in all circles, all social strata, that the patriors are legim. That is why, all ideas, all suggestions, no matter where they come from, will have our attention.

"Be assured in advance that each one of your expressed ideas will be objectively examined and analyzed.

"However, we have to forcefully reaffirm that the action that we alone decided to effect on 25 November will not be pushed aside from its objective by anyone.

"Ladies and gentlemen of the union leadership, there is no doubt that we shall have other meetings together where we will be able to exchange our points of view on the various aspects of national life.

"Today's meeting had as its only goal to make this declaration to you.

"As I thank you in the name of the Military Rectification Committee for National Progress, for having been willing to accept this meeting with us, we grasp this occasion to renew to you our desires for a good and happy new year, in discipline and cohesion.

"Thank you for your attention."

12,116 CSO: 4400

SITUATION IN COUNTRY TWO MONTHS AFTER COUP DESCRIBED

London WEST AFRICA in English 16 Feb 81 p 316

[Text]

INO MONIIIS after the coup detail which brought the Comité Militaire de Red sement pour le Projet Settend to power, the curiew is to war by a force from mide ght until 5 am. a go of the ulitary's confidence in their a strot of the country. Meanwhile, thomas . but the country's former back as ad in particular about the takener plans of S. Kango Ouedrango contains to could be and ated, some claim they are encouraged by the military to instil greater confidence in the new Government.

The CMRPN has installed Ideas Boxes" in all post offices and sousprefectures, encouraging people to submit their ideas for the country's development, no indication has been given about the success of this senture, but it has been the only attempt so far by the r I have to involve the general pay transmissing and anglobe very much a top down approach to change People were beginning to talk about the continue curies first from 7 pm until 6 am, then changed to 10 pm to 5 am, as being imposed by the relitary for no clear is son If we make all ing to this general feeling of them deciding what is good for us'

Most people should now be happy about the relaying of the curfew, and only night club owners and long distance lorry drivers coming up from the coast will continue to be screens affected. The curfew's summars curt thing of most evening entertainment

was compounded by the fact that since the New Year all bars have been closed during working hours. The Voltaiques have a reputation for liking their drink, and while this move was clearly designed to keep civil servants out of the bars and in their offices, it seems to be attacking the effect of the problem rather than the cause: if civil servants were in the bars all day it wasn't because they were all alcoholics, but because they felt that they had nothing to do in their offices.

The slight feelings of resentment these measures produce have been added to by the occasional and probably incviable abuses of responsibility by soldiers in the street. One good example was of people being detained in the road for no good reason at ten minutes to ten at night and then promptly arrested at ten when the curfew started If caught out after curfew in Quagadagou, you are generally taken to the military camp ten kilometres south of town for the night and the t left to walk back in the morning, you are also fined

Other people have been simply thrown into the lown's water reservoir when caught out after curfes. None of these abuses has been reported in the national newspaper L. Oliver-alcut, which has been extremely

timid since the coup-

In order to keep support high for the movement of 25th November", the President re-ently felt obliged to announce details of the state of the national budget when they took over with an expenditure of 45,000m CFA francs, there was an income of just 29,000m. This percentage deficit rivals that of neighbouring Mali, and in a strongly worded speech to trade union leaders Save Zerbo said that because of this crisis in the country "le syndicalisme voltaique devra : s'orienter resolument d'autres modes d'action"

Shortly after the coup, the union leaders wrote to Saye Zerbo telling him what kind of programme he would need to run to be able to rely on their support: given this firmness on their part, it is doubtful that they will have been very impressed by his unexpected warnings. The history of Upper Volta has shown that it generally does not pay in the long term to talk to the country's union leaders in this way.

Meanwhile, research continues into the financial administration of the last Government, and the rumours continue unabated. The latest ones include talks of human heads found in the cellar of Gerard Kango Ouedraogo's house. Others, coming from a very reputable source, say that the regime Kango was to head after his planned bloody carnage of 11th December would have been heavily Muslim-inspired. It is certainly true that the small, rich and very infleential fundamentalist Muslim sect of Ramatonalve is based in the village of that name just 20 kilometres from Gerard Kango's home town of Ouahigouya. He is of the royal family of Ouahigouya and would have had close links with this sect.

BRIEFS

OVERTHROWN LEADERS INVESTIGATED -- Leaders of the Upper Voltan government overthrown in last November's military coup will remain in detention until investigations into their activities have been completed, military ruler Colonel Saye Zerbo has said in his first interview since taking power, AFP reports from Ouagadougou. Col. Zerbo, chairman of the Military Committee for National Recovery (CMRPN), told the Government's fortnightly magazine AFRICAN CROSSROADS that the fate of the former leaders would depend on what charges were brought against them by a special commission of inquiry. "I can only assure you that they will answer these charges according to the law, fairly and without bias," he said. The new leader said the Government's guidelines were national unity, economic progress and social justice, adding that he was working on a programme based on these three elements, which would soon be presented to the Voltan people. Asked whether the continuing enforcement of a curfew indicated that the new regime was still not fully in control of the situation or was still cleaning up leftovers from the previous administration, Col. Zerbo replied that the curfew was retained for other reasons "such as general security, theft and other acts of banditry". Col. Zerbo said there were no factions within the Armed Forces opposed to the November 25 coup, and "no clan that could be used by the former regime to stage a counter-coup". He warned that Upper Volta was passing through difficult financial straits, and that reorganising the public coffers would be a hard task. "But we have no choice and we must succeed," he said. The Colonel said he was in favour of press freedom, "but if we pledge to respect freedom of opinion in the press we feel that in return the press should respect the first rule of its profession, which is to inform fairly and objectively." [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 16 Feb 81 p 348]

WAGE LIMITS--The CMRPN has decreed upper limits to the wages of private business managers as part of their declared policy of national recovery. The head of the Committee for National Recovery which seized power in a coup d'etat on November 25, Colonel Saye Zerbo, announced that wages and expenses of company managing directors and senior management could not exceed the average civil service salary. The decree states that private firms employing Voltan citizens affected by the measure would pay to the Public Treasury the difference between salaries paid until now and those fixed by the decree. In another measure, the individual use of state-owned vehicles was banned. The Committee also partially lifted the curfew in force since the coup. It is now effective from midnight, compared to 10 pm before, until 5 am. This move was "because of the spirit of discipline which the population of the towns and countryside have shown," a communique said. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 16 Feb 81 p 348]

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March 16, 1981